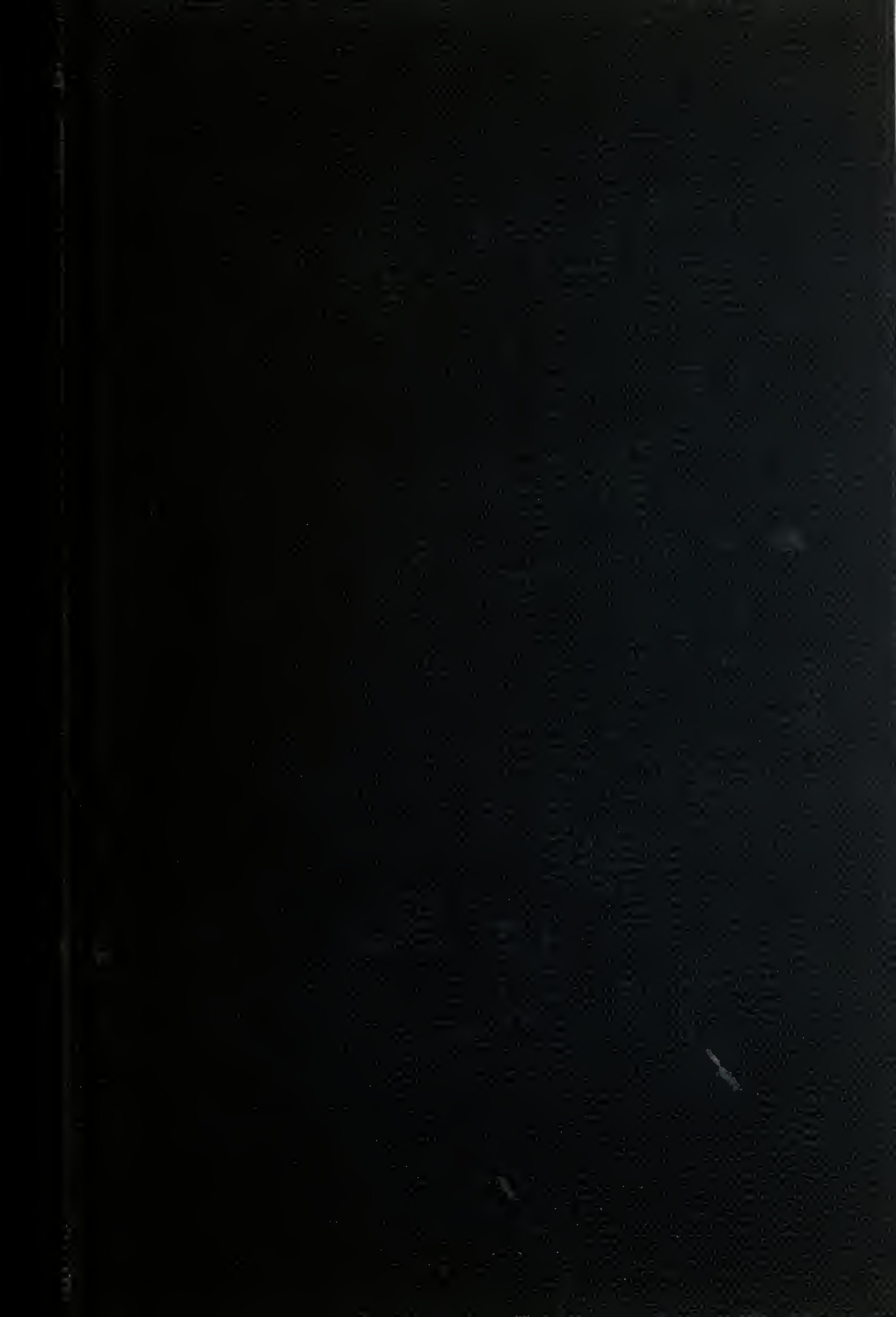
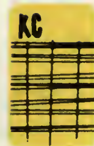


# reference collection book




kansas city
public library
kansas city,
missouri

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

From the collection of the

Prelinger Library

San Francisco, California
2007

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

*Editors*

LANSING B. BLOOM — PAUL A. F. WALTER

*Associates*

PERCY M. BALDWIN — GEORGE P. HAMMOND
FRANK T. CHEETHAM — THEODOSIUS MEYER, O.F.M.
FRANCE V. SCHOLES

VOLUME XX
1945

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO
AND
THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

)NTENTS

Page

NUMBER 1, JANUARY, 1945

*portrait:* James F. Zimmerman *facing* 1

The spread of Spanish horses in the Southwest, 1700-1800 . . . D. E. Worcester 1

From Lewisburg (Pa.) to California in 1849; diary of William H. Chamberlin, I (ed.) L. B. Bloom 14

Friar personnel and mission chronology, 1598-1629 (concl.) . F. V. Scholes and L. B. Bloom 58

Necrology: P. A. F. W. 83
J. F. Zimmerman; Chas. LeR. Gibson; E. H. Shaffer; E. L. Medler; J. B. Burg; J. B. Atkeson; R. E. Rowells

Reviews and Notes:
Steck, *Tentative guide to historical materials of the Spanish Borderlands,* by L. B. B.
Saunders, *A guide to materials bearing on cultural relations in New Mexico,* by L. B. B.
Seltzer, *Racial prehistory in the Southwest and Hawikuh Zuñis,* by Leslie Spier
Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft* . . . . . . . . . . .by Frank D. Reeve
Harrington, "Indian words in Southwest Spanish"
Reed, "The Dinetxa tradition"
"Bibliografía de historia de America (1941-44)"
*The Americas* (July and Oct., 1944)
*Southwest Journal of Anthropology,* announced

Editorial Section: . . . . . . . . . . .L. B. B. 106
What is "the Southwest"? Huntington Library and its Rockefeller project
*Travel,* Earle R. Forrest, and El Morro
What is Santa Fe's name historically?

NUMBER 2, APRIL, 1945

*portrait:* John R. McFie, Jr. *facing* 109

History of the Albuquerque Indian School (to 1934), I . . . . . . . . . . . . Lillie G. McKinney 109

The use of saddles by American Indians, D. E. Worcester 139

JUL 12 1946

Page

From Lewisburg to California in 1849, II (ed.) L. B. Bloom 144

Necrology: P. A. F. W. 181
Mrs. Ruth Hanna Simms; John R. McFie, Jr.

Notes and Comments: . . . . . . . . . L. B. B. 187
*La Villa de Santa Fe*
*Grollet, Grole, Grule, Gurulé*

NUMBER 3, JULY, 1945

A Du Val Map of New Mexico, 1670 facing 189

The Estancia Springs tragedy . . . Chas. Pope 189

History of the Albuquerque Indian School, II . . . . . . . . . . . . Lillie G. McKinney 207

The weapons of American Indians D. E. Worcester 227

From Lewisburg to California in 1849, III (ed.) L. B. Bloom 239

Necrology: P. A. F. W. 269
Alvan N. White; Numa C. Frenger; Frank Bond

Reviews and Notes: 274
Wyman, *The wild horse of the West*, by P. A. F. W.
A Du Val map of 1670 by L. B. B. 276
Folk Arts conference by P. A. F. W. 279

NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, 1945

Shalam: Facts vs. Fiction . . . . Jone Howlind 281

History of the Albuquerque Indian School (to 1934), concl. . . . . . . . . Lillie G. McKinney 310

From Lewisburg to California in 1849, concl. (ed.) L. B. Bloom 336

Necrology: Nathan Jaffa *Albuquerque Tribune*, Sept. 13, 1945 358

Notes and Comments: 359-366
The Atomic Bomb; The VT Fuse; Los Alamos Ranch School; Raynolds Library; Morley Ecclesiastical Art Gift; Mexico Field School Session

Errata and Index

168

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

V. 20

# New Mexico Historical Review

PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS, SANTA FÉ

*January, 1945*

*Editors*

LANSING B. BLOOM PAUL A. F. WALTER

*Associates*

PERCY M. BALDWIN GEORGE P. HAMMOND
FRANK T. CHEETHAM THEODOSIUS MEYER, O.F.M.
FRANCE V. SCHOLES

VOL. XX JANUARY, 1945 No. 1

CONTENTS

Page

James F. Zimmerman . . . . . . . . *frontispiece*

The Spread of Spanish Horses in the Southwest, 1700-1900
D. E. Worcester 1

From Lewisburg (Pa.) to California in 1849; Notes from the diary of Wm. H. Chamberlin . . (ed.) L. B. Bloom 14

Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598-1629, II
France V. Scholes and L. B. Bloom 58

Necrology: . . . . . . . . . P. A. F. W. 83
James F. Zimmerman; Chas. Le Roy Gibson; Ed. H. Shaffer; Ed. Lewis Medler; John Baron Burg; Joseph B. Atkeson; R. E. Rowells

Reviews and Notes: . . . . . . . . . . . 97
Steck, *Tentative Guide to Historical Materials of the Spanish Borderlands*, by L. B. B.
Saunders, *A Guide to Materials Bearing on Cultural Relations in New Mexico*, by L. B. B.
Seltzer, *Racial Prehistory in the Southwest and the Hawikúh Zuñis*, by Leslie Spier
Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft*, by Frank D. Reeve
Harrington, "Indian Words in Southwest Spanish"
Reed, "The Dinetxa tradition"
"Bibliografía de historia de America (1941-44)"
*The Americas* (July and October, 1944)
*Southwest Journal of Anthropology*, announced

Editorial Section: . . . . . . . . . L. B. B. 106
What is "the Southwest"? Huntington Library and its Rockefeller project
*Travel*, Earl R. Forrest. and El Morro
What is Santa Fé's name historically?

The NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is $3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are $1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. L. B. Bloom, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

James Fulton Zimmerman
(See page 83)

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XX — JANUARY, 1945 — NO. 1


## THE SPREAD OF SPANISH HORSES IN THE SOUTHWEST 1700-1800

*By* D. E. WORCESTER*

AT THE beginning of the eighteenth century, the use of Spanish horses was very widespread among the Indians of New Mexico and Texas, and had spread among certain tribes as far north as the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Horses had been distributed among the Indians both by trading and by stealing, the latter method being the more popular one.

Of the Southwestern Indians, the Apaches were foremost in the use of horses in warfare. During the eighteenth century, however, they were surpassed in this respect by the more numerous Comanches. Other horse-using tribes in the vicinity of New Mexico were the Navajos and Utes. The Texas tribes also were fairly well-mounted; the Hasinai, Caddo, Bidais, Sana, Tonkawa, Quitseis, and others possessing herds of horses.

The southern Plains tribes which had horses at this time were the Pawnees, Osages, Kansas, Wichitas, and Comanches. Trading parties made trips to Spanish settlements to exchange furs and slaves for horses, knives and other implements, and beads. Raiding by these tribes also was felt by the Spaniards. Sometimes men of several tribes would join together for a raid.

*The opinions contained herein are those of the writer, and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or of the naval service at large.

(signed) D. E. Worcester,
Lieutenant SC USNR

The horse trade was well-established in New Mexico during the seventeenth century, large numbers of horses and mules having been exported prior to the Pueblo revolt of 1680. The horse trade of the Indians grew out of the practice of bartering captives. The advent of the French to Louisiana gave an added stimulus to the trade, because they needed horses, and because they introduced an important trade item—the gun. Prohibiting the sale of firearms to the natives was one of the cardinal points of Spanish trading policy. Consequently, there grew up a very lively commerce between the French and the Indians of Texas, in which the French received horses and mules (usually stolen from the Spaniards) and skins in exchange for guns, powder, and lead. By this trade the French obtained many Spanish horses. A *Memoir sur les Natchitoches*, written about 1700, stated that the greatest commerce that could be expected with the Indians would be in horses, peltry, and slaves.[1]

Wherever horses were raised in the Southwest, there was trouble from Indian raiding parties. Illustrative of this is a report of Father Kino from Pimería Alta in 1701:

> At this time, in January and February, the Apaches came in, for their accustomed annual robberies; and after stealing horses . . . in various places . . . they . . . did serious damage . . .[2]

Inter-tribal trading was active, although there are fewer reports concerning it. There was mention in the seventeenth century of Apaches trading captive Indian women of the Quivira nation to the pueblos of the Pecos for horses. And in 1717, the Canadian Derbanne wrote that it was very easy to reach the Illinois by way of the Caddos, as the latter for years had been taking horses to the Illinois.[3]

In 1719, Du Tisné explored the Arkansas river. La Harpe, a member of the expedition, observed that the Tou-

---

1. P. Margry, *Mémoires et documents pour servir a l'histoire des origenes françaises des pays d'outre-mer,* (Paris, 1879-88), vi, 230.
2. H. E. Bolton, *Kino's historical memoir of Pimería Alta,* (Cleveland, 1919) i, 267.
3. Margry, *op. cit.*, vi, 211.

acara were mounted on very excellent horses, and that they used saddles and bridles of Spanish style.[4]

> These nations raise very fine horses; they value them highly, being unable to fight or hunt without them . . .[5]

Of the Osages, La Harpe wrote:

> They stay in their village like the Missouri, and pass the winter chasing the buffalo, which are very abundant in these parts. Horses, which they steal from the Panis [Pawnees] can be bought of them . . .[6]

And of the Pawnees:

> They have in these two villages three hundred horses, which they value so much that they do not like to part with them . . . According to their reports, it is fifteen days' journey to the great village of the Padoucas [Comanches], but they encounter them frequently in six days' journey. They have a cruel war now between them . . . When they go to war they harness their horses in a cuirass of tanned leather. They are clever with the bow and arrow, and also use a lance, which is like the end of a sword inserted in a handle of wood.[7]

In the same year, Du Tisné traded three guns and some powder and shot to the Pawnees for two horses and a mule, all marked with Spanish brands. The Pawnees told him that they previously had been to the Spanish villages to trade, but that at the present time the Comanches barred the way.[8] The Comanches appeared around the Spanish settlements early in the eighteenth century, and by 1743 were seen in the vicinity of San Antonio.[9]

The Apaches generally were at war with most of the Texas tribes. The Lipan Apaches became increasingly troublesome to the Spaniards around San Antonio, frequently

4. Margry, *op. cit.*, vi, 288.
5. *Ibid.*, vi, 294.
6. *Ibid.*, vi, 311.
7. *Ibid.*, vi, 312.
8. *Ibid.*, vi, 314.
9. J. A. Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779,* (Quivira Soc., 2v.), ii, 294.

running off the presidio horse herds.[10] In 1732, Apache raiders even crossed the Rio Grande and harassed the settlements and ranches of Coahuila.[11] The Apaches in the early eighteenth century were described as preferring horse and mule meat to any other, and as being very dextrous in the handling of horses.[12] Du Rivage wrote of the Apaches:

> The advantage which the Cancy [Apache] have over their enemies is that they have excellent horses, whereas the other nations have few. . . .[13]

The use of firearms by certain tribes offset the advantages which others had gained by the possession of horses. In this regard, it was said of the Hasinai, in 1722:

> For this reason they make a show of handling their guns with dexterity and running their horses at great speed, for although the Natchitoches have a greater number of guns than the Texas Indians, the number of horses they have is limited. The latter thus travel on foot while the Texas Indians ride on horseback with great skill, their feet hanging loose and, traveling at a great rate, they guide their horses with only a slender cord which they use in place of a bridle.[14]

Two years later, Bourgmont visited the Comanches, of whom he said:

> They have also many dogs, which carry their equipage when they lack horses. . . . When they go to war, they go always on horseback, and they have leather armor which protects the horses against arrows.[15]

The Comanches told Bourgmont that they traded many buffalo robes to the Spaniards for horses, axes, and knives. Three buffalo robes was the price paid for one horse.[16]

---

10. *Ibid.*, ii, 280-282.
11. H. K. Yoakum, *History of Texas* .. . . , (N.Y., 1856 2v.), i, 388.
12. J. D. Arricivita, *Crónica seráfica y apostólica* . . . (Mexico, 1792) ii, 339.
13. Margry, *op. cit.*, vi, 279.
14. "Description of the Tejas or Hasinai Indians, 1691-1722," in *Southwestern historical quarterly*, xxxi, 179.
15. Margry, *op. cit.*, vi, 446.
16. *Ibid.*, vi, 440, 445.

When Bourgmont tried to buy horses from the Kansas Indians for his journey to the Comanches, he offered them two measures of powder, thirty bullets, six strings of beads, and four knives for a horse. They told him that Frenchmen and Illinois Indians had come the previous year to barter for their slaves and had offered double the merchandise that he proposed.[17]

The Sieur de la Veréndrye visited the Missouri river region during the 1730s and 1740s. They reported that the Mandans—who formerly lived in the same villages with the Pawnees—had horses which they used for hunting. When the explorers were with the *Gens du Chevaux*, or Arickara, on the Cheyenne river, they wrote:

> All the tribes of those countries have a great many horses, asses, and mules, which they use to carry their baggage and also for riding both in the chase and in their travels.[18]
>
> I enquired about their commerce. He told me that they . . . did a large trade in ox-hides and slaves [with the Spaniards], giving in exchange horses and goods at the choice of the savages, but not guns and ammunition.[19]

Many horses raised in New Mexico and Texas were sold or traded by the Spaniards to the Indians and French, although direct trade with the latter generally was prohibited. In the 1720s there were a number of instances of trade between Spaniards and French outposts, where there was a constant demand for horses. In 1737, 250 horses were taken to New Orleans from Natchitoches.[20] In New Mexico the officials regulated the horse trade: in 1754, for example, the price of one horse was twelve to fifteen skins. An Indian slave girl who might pass for ten years old was valued at two pack horses without anything to boot; a smaller *pieza*

---

17. *Ibid.*, vi, 406.

18. L. J. Burpee, ed. *Journals and letters of P. G. de V. La Verendrye and his sons* . . . , (Toronto, 1927), 414.

19. *Ibid.*, 426.

20. N. M. M. Surrey, *The commerce of Louisiana during the French regime, 1699-1763*, (New York, 1912), 282.

was worth one horse with something extra.[21] Each year in July or August, a great fair was held at Taos. To this fair came the heathen tribes to barter slaves and peltry for horses, knives, and other items. The Spaniards found this trade profitable, especially the trade in slaves. In 1761, Fray Pedro Serrano wrote:

> When the Indian trading embassy comes to these governors and their alcaldes, here all prudence forsakes . . . because the fleet is in. The fleet being, in this case, sometimes two hundred, or at the very least fifty, tents of barbarous heathen Indians, Comanches as well as other nations. . . . Here the governor, alcaldes, and lieutenants gather together as many horses as they can. . . . Here, in short, is gathered everything possible for trade and barter with these barbarians in exchange for deer and buffalo hides, and . . . in exchange for Indian slaves, men and women, small and large. . . .[22]

After 1751, Spanish traders engaged regularly in commerce with the Indians of the lower Trinity river. In defiance of the law, they traded French guns and ammunition for horses and mules, many of which had been stolen from other Spaniards.[23] In 1754, a French trader was arrested among the Orcoquiza. He claimed to have been trading with the Attacapa for more than a quarter of a century, and had in his possession a license from the governor of Louisiana authorizing him to go among the Attacapa to trade for horses.[24]

Three years later, the colony of Nuevo Santander was

---

21. Coronado Library (Albuquerque, Univ. of N. Mex.), facsimile of *bando* issued by Governor Marin del Valle, dated Santa Fé Nov. 26, 1754, f. 1 v., has the following:

> . . . y una pieza de India que pase de diez años por dos caballos matalottes sin que sele añada otra cosa . . . y la pieza mas pequeña, de un caballo, con algun agregado de freno u otra alaja equibalante.

H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 276, note, has a surprising mistranslation of this passage.

22. C. W. Hackett, ed., *Historical documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and approaches thereto.* (Wash., D. C., 1926-37, 3v.), iii, 486-7.

23. H. E. Bolton, "Spanish activities on the lower Trinity river, 1746-1771," in *Southwestern historical quarterly*, xvi, 347-8.

24. H. E. Bolton, *Texas in the middle eighteenth century,* (Berkeley, 1915) 337.

estimated to have fifty-eight thousand horses and nearly two thousand burros.[25] The fact that this colony was more remote from the hostile tribes than the ranches of Texas and New Mexico lessened the suffering from raids, and made possible the raising of great herds. Nevertheless, the provinces south of the Rio Grande were not free from Apache thievery. In 1760, Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún wrote:

> Let Don Antonio del Castillo, *regidor* of Chihuahua, tell of the many thousand horses, mules, and cattle he has lost at the hacienda of La Laguna. . . . Let Chihuahua tell of the continuous incursions against the droves of horses and mules. . . . The Jesuit fathers bear witness to the invasions which have been made and are still being made into their haciendas, as do the settlers of Chihuahua and its vicinity . . . who, on account of continuous robberies . . . have retired up the river to La Jabonera. As a result, since both the Apaches and the Norteños know every inch of the ground, they have penetrated as far as this side of the valley.[26]

In 1763, Louisiana was ceded to Spain, and Spanish officials of Texas and the *Provincias Internas* took the opportunity to combat the trade in stolen horses. In this regard, O'Reilly instructed De Mézières, in January, 1770:

> You will prohibit, Sir, very expressly, all persons whatsoever, from purchasing, trading for, or receiving horses or mules from the savages or those who trade with them, under penalty to the offenders of the loss of such horses and mules. . . .[27]

The traders of Natchitoches were prohibited from buying horses and mules from the Taovayas. The latter found a market for their animals with the contraband traders from the Arkansas, or even with tribes from the Missouri; and thus horse-stealing at the Spanish settlements was encour-

25. *Ibid.*, 300.
26. Hackett, *op. cit.*, iii, 478.
27. H. E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas frontier, 1768-1780*, (Cleveland, 1914, 2v), i, 135.

aged, while the Natchitoches merchants demanded the removal of the restrictions so they might compete with the contrabandists from the Arkansas.[28]

The Comanches and Apaches continued to be troublesome to the Spaniards throughout the century. De Mézières described the Comanches in 1770:

> The Comanché are scattered from the great Misuris R. to the neighborhood of the frontier presidios of New Spain. They are a people so numerous and so haughty that when asked their number, they make no difficulty of comparing it to that of the stars. They are so skilful in horsemanship that they have no equal; so daring that they never ask for or grant truces; and in the possession of such a territory that, finding in it an abundance of pasturage for their horses and an incredible number of cattle which furnish them raiment, food, and shelter, they . . . have no need to covet the trade pursued by the rest of the Indians. . . .
>
> From these perpetual comings and goings it arises that the Comanchés, relying upon one another, made proud by their great number, and led by their propensity to steal, let few seasons pass without committing the most bloody outrages against the inhabitants of New and Old Mexico.[29]

The Nations of the North—Bidais, Wichita, Comanches, and others—who had been obtaining guns from the French, refused to maintain peaceful relations with the Spaniards as long as they were not supplied with firearms and ammunition.

> It is more to their interest to make war on us; for, in exchange for the horses which they steal they secure whatever they desire from the French; and failing to get it from them, they will obtain it easily, with greater injury to us, from the English, whom they have so close by that only the Mississippi intervenes. . . .[30]

28. *Ibid.*, 76.
29. *Ibid.*, 218.
30. Bolton, *De Mézières, op. cit.*, i, 269-70.

In the same year, 1770, De Mézières wrote to Ripperda concerning an Indian who took droves of horses from the Taovaya villages to the Missouri to trade with the Panis-Mahas, returning with English guns and ammunition.[31] Gaignard made an expedition up the Red river in the years 1773 and 1774. While among the Pawnees, he saw two groups of Frenchmen from the Arkansas river who had come to trade for horses and mules.[32]

Peace was established with the Norteños, but it was short-lived. On this subject, Ripperda wrote in 1772:

> Up to the present these latter [the friendly nations] are keeping the promised peace, excepting the Comanches, who keep us disturbed by stealing our droves of horses.[33]

In the following year, more than one thousand horses were stolen.[34]

> The Comanches continue to steal horses in this region [San Antonio]. . . . It has been difficult to overtake the more than one hundred horses which they carried off. . . .[35]

The prices for horses around San Antonio at this time were: half-broken horses, six pesos; mares in droves, one peso a head and less; wild mules, eight pesos.[36]

The efforts of Spanish officials to stop the trade in stolen horses generally were of no avail. In the first place, they were unable to prevent horse-stealing. In 1774, Medina reported to O'Conor:

> The French continue to trade in guns, powder, and balls, and owe their suppliers more than six hundred horses. The latter do not raise horses and mules, and therefore, in order to supply the lack they have to get them from the Indians in trade; and for this it is the rule that the latter, for they

31. *Ibid.*, ii, 301.
32. *Ibid.*, ii, 87-90.
33. *Ibid.*, i, 334.
34. J. D. Arricivita, *Crónica seráfica y apostólica* . . . (Mexico, 1792), 393.
35. Bolton, *De Mézières, op. cit., ii*, 31.
36. *Ibid.*, ii, 241-2.

> have no other occupation, come to steal in our country, as in fact they are doing now. They never enter this presidio [San Antonio] without taking of horses and mules when they leave.[37]

In the same year, the governor of Louisiana complained that English traders crossed the wild lands and traded with the Indians in spite of his efforts to prevent it. Juan Hamilton and others, he said, *continued* to make journeys to the mouth of the Trinity to buy horses and mules from the Indians.[38] These men were the forerunners of such later traders as Philip Nolan.

Horse-stealing was as widespread as the use of horses. Spaniards who visited tribes in their own territory frequently spoke of seeing herds that had been stolen from the Spanish ranches, but they also mentioned the numerous raiding parties sent against other tribes. Peter Pond, a fur trader, was among the Sac Indians of the Mississippi valley in 1773, and he observed how weaker tribes sometimes supplied themselves with horses:

> The men often join war parties with other nations and go against the Indians on the Miseure and west of that. Sometimes they go near St. Fee in New Mexico and bring with them Spanish Horses.[39]

The province of New Mexico began to be in serious straits because of the loss of so many horses. In 1775, as a century earlier, it was necessary for the officials to request that horses be sent from New Spain to be used in the defense of the province. Fifteen hundred horses were needed immediately for use against the hostile tribes, Comanches, Apaches, Navajos, and Utes.[40]

In 1777, the Panis-Mahas moved south into Texas from

---

37. Bolton, *De Mézières*, op. cit., ii, 34.
38. *Ibid.*, i, 77.
39. H. A. Innis, *Peter Pond, fur trader and adventurer*, (Toronto, 1930), 37.
40. Archivo General y Publica de la Nacion (Mexico), Provincias Internas, tomo 65, pieza 6ª. "Es expediente formado en el año de 1775, para franquear el auxilio de 1500 cavallos a los vecindarios del Nuevo Mexico, a fin de q. pudieran defenderse, y hazer la guerra a los Yndios Enemigos."

the Missouri.[41] Probably their movement was caused by a desire to be nearer the source of horses, but pressure from the powerful northern Plains tribes may have been an inducement.

By the time that fur traders penetrated the Northwest, Spanish horses and mules were common among the Indians of that area.[42] David Thompson told of a Piegan raiding party of 1787 which traveled far to the south in search of the Snake (Shoshoni) Indians. The scouts discovered a file of horses and mules led by Black Men (Spaniards). The Piegans attacked the train, and the Spaniards withdrew, leaving the loaded animals. Said Thompson:

> I never could learn the number of the animals[;] those that came to the camp at which I resided were about thirty horses and a dozen mules, with a few saddles and bridles. The horses were about fourteen hands high finely shaped, and though very tired yet lively, mostly of a dark brown color, head neat and small, ears short and erect, eyes fine and clear, fine manes and tails with black hoofs. The saddles were larger than our english saddles, the side leather twice as large of thick well tanned leather of a chocolate color with the figures of flowers as if done by a hot iron, the bridles had snaffle bits, heavy and coarse as if made by a blacksmith with only his hammer.[43]

A number of traders believed that Indians as far north as the Mandans and Gros Ventres traded with the Spaniards, as those tribes were well provided with Spanish saddles and bridles, as well as many horses and mules marked with well-known Spanish brands.[44]

During the eighteenth century wild horses became very numerous in the Southwest. In 1778, De Mézières traveled from Bexar to the upper Trinity, Brazos, and Red rivers, and wrote:

---

41. Morfi, *op. cit.*, 89-90.

42. Innis, *op. cit.*, 126.

43. J. B. Tyrrell, ed., *David Thompson's narrative of his explorations in western America 1784-1812*, (Toronto, 1916), 370-1.

44. A. P. Nasatir (ed.), "Spanish explorations of the Upper Missouri," in *Mississippi Valley historical review*, xiv, 58, 66, 67.

> After leaving the Guadalupe I crossed the Colorado and Brasos, where there are . . . an incredible number of Castilian cattle, and herds of mustangs that never leave the banks of these streams.[45]

Morfi, in his history of Texas, also spoke of the herds of wild horses:

> Nothing proves the fertility of the land and the richness of the soil more than the incredible number of wild horses and cattle found everywhere.
>
> The number of wild horses and cattle that graze here [San Gabriel river] . . . is incredible.
>
> There are found . . . a thousand other aromatic plants and species of grass that attract the wild horses and cattle which multiply so rapidly that one cannot journey through the province without meeting herds of two, three, and even four thousand head at a time.[46]

The first American to engage in the western horse trade on a large scale was Philip Nolan, who spent several years among the Comanches. He drove fifty horses to New Orleans as an experiment; the animals sold so well that Nolan was induced to make another trip west for horses. In 1794, he took a herd of 250 to Natchez, where the majority was sold. Forty-two head were driven to Frankfort, Kentucky, and disposed of there. Nolan returned to San Antonio, where he planned to gather a herd of one thousand horses. Horse-raising had so declined in that region that it was necessary for Nolan to go to Nuevo Santander for most of his herd. In 1800, Nolan was again in Texas after horses. He saw thousands of wild horses on the Trinity and Brazos rivers. Near the latter river he built a corral, and caught about three hundred mustangs. At this time, Nolan was killed by a force which had been sent to apprehend him for illegal entry into Texas. That he was not the only American engaged in the trade was inferred by Gayoso, governor of

---

45. Bolton, *De Mézières, op. cit.*, ii, 187.
46. Morfi, *op. cit.*, 49, 54, 65-6.

Louisiana, who complained of the constant furtive penetrations by Americans into the *Provincias Internas* in search of horses.[47]

An interesting account of some of the western horses which reached Kentucky was given by F. A. Michaux in 1802:

> During my sojurn in this State I had an opportunity of seeing those wild horses that are caught in the plains of New Mexico, and which descend from those that the Spaniards introduced there formerly. To catch them they make use of tame horses that run much swifter. . . . They take them to New Orleans and Natches, where they fetch about fifty dollars. The crews belonging to the boats that return by land to Kentucky frequently purchase some of them. The two that I saw and made a trial of were roan coloured, of a middling size, the head large, and not proportionate with the neck, the limbs thick, and the mane rather full and handsome. These horses have a very unpleasant gait, are capricious, difficult to govern, and even frequently throw the rider and take flight.[48]

---

47. Garnet M. Brayer, *Philip Nolan*, (Thesis, Berkeley, 1938), 55.

48. R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early western travels, 1748-1846*, (Cleveland, 1904-1907, 32v), iii, 245.

# FROM LEWISBURG (PA.) TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849

## (Notes from the Diary of William H. Chamberlin)

*Edited by* LANSING B. BLOOM

IN A recent book[1] dealing with gold seekers who went overland to California in 1849, one of our esteemed collaborators in the field of Southwestern history has called attention to the fact that "in popular conception, emigration to California was limited to the northern routes"—the Santa Fé, Oregon, and Mormon Trails. "That similar scenes were enacted farther south is not generally known. Few journals were kept and little has been written about the emigration here. Yet the amazing scenes of preparation for departure from Independence across the 'Plains' were repeated on a smaller scale at Fort Smith and Van Buren, Arkansas, on the border of the Indian Territory."

Some ten years ago while we were making a short visit to his ranch about three miles south of Estancia, New Mexico, Mr. J. V. Chamberlin handed us a bundle of old newspaper clippings which he thought might be of interest to the readers of our quarterly. The clippings were from the Lewisburg (Pa.) *Saturday News* which, during the fall of 1902, had published in twenty-four "chapters" or installments the diary which had been kept by his uncle, William, while going overland by the Canadian River route. Four of the installments were found to be missing, but with the help of an old school chum now living at State College, Pa., we were able last summer to secure copies of these from the office of the newspaper which, it seems, is still being published in Lewisburg.

The book by Grant Foreman which we have cited is based on the official report of Capt. Randolph B. Marcy,[2]

1. Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (1939), xii.

2. Randolph B. Marcy was a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy (1832). He had risen to a captaincy by May 18, 1846; served during the Mexican War, and afterwards at Fort Towson and Fort Arbuckle. Still later, he was to serve in Texas, Florida, and Utah, and was to distinguish himself during the Civil War. At this time, he was in command of the 5th U. S. Infantry at Fort Towson. Heitman, *Historical Register,* I, 689; Foreman, *op. cit.,* 145.

enriched by passages from diaries of '49ers who followed this route, letters, and news items which Mr. and Mrs. Foreman were able to glean during some years of diligent and widely extended research. The diary which we are here editing did not come to their attention, nor have we seen any other mention of it. Aside from any other importance which it may have, the diary is of especial interest because of the relation which it shows between this little party from Lewisburg and the military detachment under Captain Marcy which had been directed to lay out a new road from Fort Smith to Chouteau's Trading House (keeping wholly to the south of the Canadian River) and to escort emigrants coming that way through to Santa Fé. From there, the federal authorities expected them to find a direct route through to California over the Old Spanish Trail!

According to his own report,[3] Capt. Frederick T. Dent[4] left Fort Smith on March 27, 1849, with Lieut. Joseph Updegraff[5] and twenty-five men, the advance detachment of Marcy's command which was to mark out the new road. Captain Marcy himself with the rest of the escort started, according to previous orders, on April 5 and delayed at several points on the road to allow emigrants to come up from the rear. As we shall see, the party of six men from Lewisburg set out from Fort Smith on March 28; the third day out, they overtook Dent's detachment and from then until they arrived at Chouteau's the two parties were at no time far from each other. Indeed, the record seems to show that the Lewisburg party was in advance much of the time, pioneering the new road. See, for example, what young

3. "Report of Capt. R. B. Marcy's Route from Fort Smith to Santa Fé," in *Senate Ex. Docs.*, 31 cong., 1 sess., No. 64, pp. 169-227; also in Foreman, *op. cit.*, 134-141.

4. Frederick T. Dent was a native of Missouri and graduated from the U. S. Military Academy in 1843. He won two brevets during the Mexican War, but at this time was a first lieutenant of infantry, captain by brevet. Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 368. Foreman *(op. cit.*, 141*)* notes the fact that U. S. Grant was a classmate at West Point, and after graduation he visited Dent, whose sister Julia he afterwards married.

5. Joseph Updegraff was a native of Virginia who went into the Mexican War as a private and came out as a brevet 2nd lieutenant of the 5th U. S. Infantry. Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 978; Foreman, *op. cit.*, 146, note.

Chamberlin wrote on April 28: "Lieutenant Dent, to save his credit, came up with us this evening, alone, determined to be in advance to Choteau's, so it cannot be said that we laid out the road for him, although he has ordered the troops to follow our trail." Of course there is no indication of this in the official reports of either Dent or Marcy.

---

## CHAPTER I.

1849—Monday, Feb. 26. We left Lewisburg this morning about 8 o'clock, with spirits as buoyant as could be expected, after parting with our friends and all we hold near and dear on earth, especially when we take into consideration the long and hazardous journey before us. No doubt we will soon experience the loss we have sustained in leaving home, with all its comforts, our friends, and the many social ties that have heretofore bound us to society. But the love of adventure and prospect of reward have overcome all "home feelings," and today finds us on our way towards the great point of attraction. Our company consists of R. B. Green, D. Howard, John Musser, S. F. Schaffle, Cyrus Fox and myself. If but a small portion of the good wishes of our friends (I hope we have left no enemies) are realized, we will be amply rewarded. Three weeks ago I had not the slightest idea of going, and within that time I have been obliged to take an inventory, settle up my business, and make preparations for the journey, being busily engaged up to the moment of departure. I did not have the pleasure of seeing all my friends, which I regret very much, but if I live, will make up for all deficiencies on my return. I was advised to go by some, by others, (the greater number) to stay at home, but my mind was made up. Stayed at Musser's, Millheim.

Tuesday, Feb. 27.—After seeing the friends that accompanied us safe on their way home, we started on our way westward. Raining, which makes travelling very unpleasant. Arrived at Stover's inn about dark, and sat down to an excellent supper of ham, eggs, etc., to which we did ample justice.

Wednesday, Feb. 28.—Entered Huntingdon county after leaving Stover's. The mud very deep, and almost impassible, until we reach the turnpike, within seven miles of Water Street. The winter grain looks bad, being severely frozen. Passed several furnaces and forges on Spruce creek,

and a great number are in operation in the vicinity. Although this hilly country is not so well adapted to agriculture as other portions of the State, it fully makes up in mineral wealth. The scenery is romantic and beautiful, especially along the banks of the Juniata river. The Central Railroad company have commenced tunneling the mountain at the mouth of Spruce creek. Dined at Water Street, and arrived at Hollidaysburg, 6 o'clock this evening. This place, situated at the connection of the canal and railroad, commands a large portion of trade, and has quite a business-like appearance.

Thursday, March 1.—One of our wagons being out of repair, we did not leave until 10 o'clock. Walked about 8 miles this morning which whetted our appetites for a lunch, which we partook of at the mountain toal-gate, with many good wishes for Mrs. Glen G., who with prudent forsight had provided us with bread, ham, etc. If we had our wagons upon runners we could get along with less labor to the teams, there being several inches of snow upon the ground. Arrived at the Summit House about 4 o'clock and concluded to stop for the night, having traveled about 10 miles to-day. Col. J. W. Geary, a resident of this place, started for California a short time since, with the commission of postmaster at San Francisco.[6]

Friday, March 2.—Left Summit about 6 o'clock, entered Cambria county this afternoon. Passed through Edensburg —the country very rough on all sides, and thinly settled. Rain and sleet fell during the whole day, which made our journeying very unpleasant. Stopped at Armagh.

Saturday, March 3.—Snow fell during the night, and this morning it is several inches deep. Our wagons draw very heavy. Reached Blairsville at 12 o'clock, had a check and concluded to take stage for Pittsburg, with our heavy trunks—ten passengers in all. Got along pretty well until within 13 miles of Pittsburg, when we stuck in the mud, about midnight, but by "putting our shoulders to the wheels," we succeeded in getting along at the rate of three miles in five hours—walked all the way, and were pretty well exhausted when we reached Pittsburg in the morning.

Sunday, March 4.—At 6 a.m. put up at Exchange Hotel,

---

6. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, vi, 213, note 63, tells us that John W. Geary was born in Westmoreland county, Pa., and rose to prominence in Pittsburgh as a civil engineer and railroad president. He served in the Mexican War with the 2nd. Pa. Volunteers, and rose to the rank of colonel; he was wounded in the battle of Chapultepec. On January 22, 1849, he was appointed postmaster of San Francisco, and "with his family he reached San Francisco on the *Oregon* on April 1st."

our clothes literally mud from head to foot; called on a barber, and after being washed, shaved and changed, we felt somewhat relieved. Walked out to take a look at the "Iron City." Cannot say that I was much pleased with its general appearance, everything the eye rests upon having a dark, dingy appearance, caused by the dust falling around from the numerous iron works which are constantly belching forth fire and smoke, yet the traveler cannot but notice the bustle and din of business in this great manufacturing town. The West and South are the markets for her products. Thousands of laboring men find employment in these establishments, and make a comfortable livelihood for themselves and families.

Monday, March 5.—Kelly and Herbst arrived this morning with our wagons and baggage. We engaged passage on board the steamship "Winfield Scott," Capt. Devenny, to the mouth of the Arkansas river, at $10 apiece and $7 freight for our two wagons. The boat is new, and runs her first trip down the river. Rained all day, the Ohio river rising. We are all very anxious to be off.

Tuesday, March 6.—After pulling our wagons aboard, Kelly and Herbst started for home. Purchasing tools, cooking utensils, clothing, etc. Commenced boarding on the boat this morning. Met T. Sargeant, formerly of Lewisburg, and Mr. Hoons, besides several other acquaintances.

Wednesday, March 7.—Engaged purchasing India rubber goods, etc. Our boat left the Pittsburg landing about 6 o'clock p.m. We have few passengers aboard. The cabins are elegantly furnished, and the table covered with the choicest viands. The bar is well filled up, where the choicest liquors and cigars are dealt out. We purchased an "Airometer" to-day, of the inventor, Mr. Aiken, for the purpose of weighing and ascertaining the value of gold.

Thursday, March 8.—Came to at M'Farlin's Warehouse, in sight of Steubenville, Ohio, and took aboard 1500 bbls. of flour. Occupied the greater part of the day. The telegraph wires cross the river at this place. The river being high, the pipes of the steamboat "Messenger" on her way up came in contact, and broke one of the lines. We have Ohio on our right and Virginia on our left hand. The scenery on either shore is very fine; at times rich tracts of cultivated country, stretching away as far as the eye can reach, on either hand, and again nothing but bold, barren hills presenting themselves. Landed at Steubenville this evening. It being the captain's place of residence, our cabin was soon filled with visitors admiring the new boat, etc.

Friday, March 9.—Dropped down the river a few miles this morning and took on 750 bbls. flour. In the meantime some of us went ashore and amused ourselves by firing at a target. I made the best shot and my rifle proved herself a first-class shooter. Reached Wheeling this evening. Before we arrived, a young man, said to be of respectable family, had a violent fit of "mania potu." He had been drinking for some days, and was in great distress; but he recovered so as to go on shore when we landed. Took aboard 500 bbls. of flour at this place. The amount stowed away in one of these boats is almost incredible. Mr. M'Donald and myself went to a concert by the "Eddy Family." They have improved very much since I heard them sing in Lewisburg. Mr. Schmidt performed his part on the guitar admirably. The river is now very full, being 25 feet above low water mark.

Saturday, March 10.—Left Wheeling at 8 o'clock; stopped at Marietta this afternoon. This is the oldest town in the State of Ohio, and a handsome place, resembling Lewisburg in some respects. There is a college here, and a burying-ground in the suburbs, in which stands a large mound filled with human skeletons. It is not known whether it was an Indian burial place, or the work of an antediluvian race; the former is the general supposition. Several of us visited this curiosity during our short stay.

Sunday, March 11.—Arrived at Portsmouth. It has a business-like appearance—windows shut and door open for trade. Very little respect is paid to the Sabbath in places situated on these western thoroughfares. Spent the day in reading, not forgetting a few chapters in the book of books. Weather warm and sultry, with thunder showers this evening. The dense fog obliged us to come to anchor.

Monday, March 12.—Arrived at Cincinnati about 7 o'clock a.m. The fog was so dense that we could see nothing of the surrounding country, which is said to present a beautiful appearance, being under a high state of cultivation, and abounding in vineyards, fruitgardens, etc.; but after the fog broke away we had a fine view of the business portion of the "Queen City." In population and substantial wealth it is, perhaps, increasing faster than any city in the Union, and its vast resources and commercial facilities, together with the enterprising spirit of her citizens, are destined to make Cincinnati one of the first inland cities in the world. Here we purchase provisions for our over-land journey—bacon, ham, dried beef, flour, cornmeal, hard bread, beans, rice, coffee, sugar, tea, saleratus, salt, pepper, chocolate, etc. Left Cincinnati at 4 o'clock p.m.

Tuesday, March 13.—Some new passengers aboard; the evening agreeably spent, music, reading, anecdotes, etc. The porter on this boat is four feet high and as broad as long. We have dubbed him "Gen. Taylor," and have a great deal of sport at his expense. Being an endless joker himself he stands a butt for all who may aim at him. Arrived at Louisville this morning, just as we turned out of our berths. It makes a fine appearance from the river, and does not deceive its looks. I was better pleased with Louisville than any of the western towns we have passed through. Here we made our last purchases of over-land equipments, including a few trinkets, beads, rings, vermillion, etc., to barter with the Indians. Goods of all kinds command a percentage here, judging from the rates we paid for some articles. Left Louisville about 10 o'clock a.m., passing through the falls, but the river being so full, we scarcely noticed them, although entirely impassable in times of low water. Passed Shippenport, Ky., and New Albany and Troy, Indiana. The appearance of the country on both sides of the river would warrant a productive soil. To-day I notice trees coming out in leaf, frogs singing, and all nature wears the aspect of early spring.

Wednesday, March 14.—A clear and beautiful morning, and a cloudless sky, welcomed us this my 21st birthday. With what fond anticipation does the child look forward to that eventful day that shall make him a "man." He forms plans and builds "castles in the air," which his restless ambition is doomed never to realize when he arrives at that period. As time glides along, and he passes from childhood to youth, his asperations weaken, and continue to grow fainter during his rise from youth to manhood. He is not sensible of the change, and all the fond imaginations of his bright and joyous days are forgotten or give place to other thoughts and feelings. This has certainly been my experience. Little did I think, years ago, when I "wished I was a man," that this day would find me in my present situation with the present object in view.—But I am off my subject. The country on both sides of the river is flat, the banks full and overflowing in some places. The settlements along the banks, for some time have presented a most squalid appearance, wretched cabins, sunk in the sand and mud, surrounded with drifts, destitute of outhouses. Evansville, in the distance looks like a small place, and is the largest town in Indiana.

## Chapter II.

Thursday, March 15.—Using the river water has given some of us accustomed to limestone water a severe diarrhoea. Many feared it was the cholera, which is prevailing to some extent in this country, but we soon found out to the contrary, much to our satisfaction. Landed at Cairo, situated at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. It is a poor, distressed looking place, almost inundated at present. The characteristics of these two rivers differ very materially. While the Ohio is one continued broad, smooth stream, the waters of the Mississippi are most turbulent, very crooked, cut up by islands, and running in different channels. Its banks are low and overflowing in many places at present. Sometimes for miles it is lined with cotton-wood trees of different growths. These regular varieties in size are caused, I suppose, by the formation of new banks, and the deposits of seed, as the river changes its channels. Every now and then we see a lone squatter living in something that has the shape of a habitation, but generally so small and wretched looking (surrounded by water when the river is up) that a person can scarcely but wonder how human beings can content themselves in such an isolated, and apparently miserable condition. But I am told that they are contented with their lot, which is a blessing many in far more enviable situations do not enjoy. They procure the necessaries of life by furnishing the steamboat with wood, and occasionally we see a garden patch or a small lot fenced in and planted. It appears to be the highest ambition to live "from hand to mouth," as it is called, and wrestle with the fever-and-ague, which is their constant enemy. Like Daniel Boone, they think that when a person settles within twenty miles of them they are getting "too neighborly" and wish to encroach upon their rights. I cannot envy the condition of the poor squatter on the lonely banks of the Mississippi. I would prefer a log cabin, with a dog and a gun, amongst the wildest mountains of old Pennsylvania. I am no admirer of flat or prairie country; I imagine it will be severe on the eyes when the sight is unobstructed by forests, or blue mountains in the distance. Today we saw the first canebrake; they are beautiful, being ever-green.

Friday, March 16.—A delightful morning. Passed a number of cotton plantations, with a row of negro huts near the mansion houses; some of them looked very comfortable. Landed at Memphis about noon—weather almost insupportably warm. The town is situated upon a bluff, and

has considerable trade, principally in cotton. It is said there are fifty cases of cholera in town. We lay here half a day, discharging freight. The U. S. navy yard at this place is under way, and is a very heavy contract. About 200 Californians are assembled here from different parts of the South, making preparations for starting. The half of the population of Memphis are slaves. We saw some specimens of the traffic to-day. An Arkansas lawyer purchased a little girl and brought her on board. She was literally torn from the arms of her mother, and their mingled cries were truly distressing. Another case was of two little brothers. The purchaser was taking them to Red River, Louisiana; they, too, had been taken from their parents, and looked and no doubt felt as though they had buried father and mother. Another was a planter, who told me he had run short of change, and to replenish his purse, he selected one of his slaves, a comely looking fellow, about twenty-three years of age, and was taking him to the New Orleans market. He was in chains; his master said it was because he refused to go, or in other words, as I learned from the slave himself, to be torn away from his wife, whom he loved and had been married to about four months. I did not wonder at his refusing to go. But more happy and contented beings than slaves do not exist, when well treated and properly clothed. No matter how hard they are continually singing, jesting, etc. To sit an hour or two on the wharf at Memphis and listen to their peculiar lingo, was a rare treat to me. Corn has been already planted in this part of the country, and peach trees are out in full bloom.

Saturday, March 17.—Left Memphis yesterday morning, and arrived at Napoleon, at the mouth of the Arkansas, this evening. This place consists of several old steamboats converted into storehouses, hotels, etc., and two or three "stray buildings." We stowed our traps, and took lodgings in one of these wretched wharf boats, while the "Winfield Scott" sped on her way towards the "Crescent City." Success to her and all on board. This abject looking place ill deserves the lofty name it bears. Everything about our boarding house appeared filthy, and the victuals were almost disgusting.

Sunday, March 18.—There being about forty Californians here, awaiting a passage to Fort Smith, I was obliged to sleep on the floor last night. Caught a catfish this afternoon, which we considered quite a feat; he was a monster, weighing 45 pounds. Some straggling Cherokee Indians about here, on their way to St. Louis to dispose of their furs.

They are in canoes, and are very poor. They remind me of the "last run of shad." About 3 o'clock this afternoon we started up the Arkansas, on board boat "Wm. Armstrong," a small propeller, which we engaged to go through to Fort Smith for $15 per man and $8 per wagon. The river is in good, navigable order, and the water is more turbid than either the Ohio or the Mississippi, rather inclined to be red. The banks are lined with cypress, cottonwood and cane-brake.

Monday, March 19.—Rained all night; river falling, and full of snags; the current is very strong, but we are making good time. Arrived at Pine Bluffs about 2 p.m. It is a small but pleasant village, situated upon a high bluff overlooking the surrounding country. Saw some pine timber here (growing), which is the first we have met since leaving Penn'a. I was very much deceived in the general appearance of the Arkansas country. Shortly after leaving the Mississippi the banks became higher, well timbered, and an apparently finer looking country I have never seen; but I am told the soil is rather light. There is a bluff on one side of the river, while the opposite side is low lands, and the formation changes sides alternately. Cotton and corn are the staple products of this country. It is said to be very healthy here, and is certainly a great opening for emigrants. We amused ourselves to-day by firing at ducks and geese off the deck of the boat; but made few successful shots. The accommodations on board are very indifferent and the fare horrid; all the meats appear to have been in a putrid state before cooking. Complaint was made by the passengers, (and we afterward had the satisfaction of eating some of our own provisions, not knowing it at the time).

Tuesday, March 20.—Awakened this morning by a violent storm. It came on about 2 o'clock, accompanied by thunder and lightning and high winds. Hail fell about the size of an egg. The boat was blown upon a sand-bar, which saved us from being capsized. By the screams of the wild geese, we supposed they were sorely pelted. After the storm subsided we cleared the sand-bar and arrived at Little Rock about day-break. This place, which is the capital of the State, contains from 4000 to 5000 inhabitants. It is situated upon a high rocky bluff, from which it derives its name; (these are the first rocks we have seen since leaving the Ohio river). It is a well built, healthy and pleasant place. The government buildings are substantially and handsomely situated. There are a number of fine private residences in town, the yards, gardens, etc., of which are adorned with a

great deal of taste, and the inhabitants are generally of the best class of society. A short distance above Little Rock we met with the first mountains since leaving the Ohio, and they are but hills compared with those of Pennsylvania. We have passengers aboard bound for California from Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, South Carolina, and other of the Southern States. They are generally young and hardy looking.

Wednesday, March 21.—Another violent storm last night; rain fell in torrents. We arrived at Lewisburg this morning. It is an insignificant looking place; has nothing to recommend it, and bears no resemblance to the Lewisburg we left behind us. Arrived at Ozark City at 10 o'clock a.m. From the appearance of the place the founder's expectations could never have been realized. The Ozark chain, that crosses the State here, gives the country a more mountainous appearance. The current of the river is becoming very rapid and difficult to ascend. Reached Van Buren about dark. This was published a rendezvous for emigrants. We had thought of stopping here, but concluded to go on to Fort Smith, five miles ahead, where we arrived at 8 o'clock p.m. The boat immediately discharged her passengers and freight and put off down the river. When we succeeded in getting our traps together, we found our groceries missing. This explained the cause of our change of fare aboard the boat. But she was off, leaving us to renew our loss as best we could. There being no storehouses here, we were under the necessity of lying on the bank all night to protect our baggage. This was our first night's experience in "camping out."

Thursday, March 22.—After passing a sleepless night, we proposed to go out and encamp at Sulphur Springs, about two miles distant from town. Fort Smith is quite a village, situated on the east or Arkansas side of the river, containing about 1000 inhabitants, made up of people from all parts of the States, slaves and Indians included. It is an Indian trading station, and every day they come to town in numbers, bringing furs, marketing, etc., to exchange for the necessaries of life. There are a number of government troops quartered here, and the fort and outbuildings are brick, adding greatly to the appearance of the town. The government buildings are enclosed by a heavy stone wall.

Friday, March 23.—Green and Musser gone to Van Buren to purchase mules. The boat Pennyweight arrived to-day from New Orleans and discharged a cargo of Californians. They buried seven persons on the way up who died with the cholera. Purchased another stock of groceries,

which we are busy sacking, drying and smoking our bacon, etc.

Saturday, March 24.—Bought seven mules at $50 a head. Mr. Armstrong, from Ralston, Pa., arrived to-day and joined our company. We use the sulphur water, although the taste is rather nauseous. If we do not require its medical virtues, it cannot injure us. Our mules are in bad condition, which will require us to travel slow in the start.

Sunday, March 25.—Went to hear the far-famed Mr. John Newland Maflit preach. I knew him by reputation, but had never seen or heard him before. He is certainly an eloquent speaker, but I came to the conclusion that he is more renowned for eccentricity, than either piety or the future welfare of his listeners. He was formerly of the Methodist Church, but is now an "outsider." Although upwards of fifty years of age, he does not appear to be more than thirty, and I am inclined to think that more of his time is spent at the toilet than at the Bible. There appears to be more regard for the day in camp than in town.

Monday, March 26.—Musser went to Van Buren after our mules. The weather is fine, tempting us to start. We are anxious to be on our way and will get off as soon as possible. Purchased three mules at about $50 per head. We have now five to each wagon, intending to purchase riding ponies from the Indians on our way. Having our mules shod, wagons repaired, and making every necessary preparation we can think of.

Tuesday, March 27.—Judging from the amount of goods sold to the emigrants at this place, and the prices realized, the self-interested citizens of Fort Smith could well afford to publish to the world the many advantages (no doubt exaggerated) this place has as a starting point, for an overland journey to California. The gamblers are fleecing many persons, who will be obliged to return home and take a new start. We disposed of our provision chests and exchanged our tent for a larger and more convenient one; purchased saddles, extra mule shoes, pickets, etc.

Wednesday, March 28.—Commenced raining this morning; packed our wagons harnessed to our gaunt looking mules, and rolled out about 3 o'clock this afternoon. Our teams moved off finely; the road very bad; continues raining. Encamped on a small run; no grass; fed our animals upon corn, which we brought with us. We use our camp chest as a table; we have an abundance of blankets, with which we make ourselves comfortable. After enjoying our humble supper of coffee, bacon and biscuit, we retired to rest, pretty

well pleased with our first day's journey, and were lulled to sleep by the hooting of owls and the howling of wolves. We appointed a guard which is to be kept up throughout the journey, each standing half a night, alternately. Distance, six miles.

---

## CHAPTER III.

Thursday, March 29.—Traveled over a very bad road, the wheels sometimes sinking to the axles, but our mules did not flinch. Ferried over Polo river, a sluggish stream about 40 yards wide. Passed through the "Choctaw Agency"; a great many Indians and squaws were lounging about the place; some of them have pretty comfortable cabins, and cultivate a few acres of ground.[7] They are very fond of dress; some of the squaws were clad in calicoes of the most gaudy colors. Some of them had "papooses" lashed to a wicker frame, swung over their backs. In this way they carry them for a whole day, not even loosing them when they suckle, and the little "brats" never murmur. Liquor is not allowed to be sold in the nation; this is a law of their own, and a very sensible one. Indeed, it would be an example worthy of imitation by our enlightened States. They raise a great many horses, cattle, hogs, poultry, etc. There is a detachment of government soldiers in advance of us, surveying a new route for emigrants on the south side of the Canadian river to the plains of "Great American desert," thence on to Santa Fe, on the same side of the river.[8] Capt. R. B. Marcy, with a detachment of U. S. troops, is to leave Fort Smith in a few days as an escort to the company of emigrants from that place. He is to travel by this new route. Strange that persons living upon the borders or frontier as the Fort Smith people do, accustomed to dealing with the Indians, require an escort of troops, while many of us from the States, who never saw an Indian, are obliged to fight and cut our own way. Senator Borland, of Arkansas, whose influence brought all this about, must be a 'cute old 'un. When we came to where the new road struck off from the

---

7. "More than 400 wagons passed the Choctaw agency during the first three weeks of April on their way from Fort Smith to California." Foreman, *op. cit.*, 155, note, quoting the *Fort Smith Herald* of Apr. 25, 1849.

8. At the beginning of his official report, Captain Marcy speaks of this detachment of twenty men under Lieut. J. Updegraff as having been sent forward to assist Captain Dent in examining the country and opening the new road. Foreman, *op. cit.*, 152. As already stated, Marcy himself with the rest of his detachment was to start on April 5.

old one, we were influenced to take the former by a man stationed there for the purpose. We were the first that traveled it,[9] except the military detachment, which consists of two wagons and 25 men, who are but a few miles ahead of us—and ahead of them, a wilderness of 250 miles! They are guided by the old Delaware Indian trail, which runs about 20 degrees S. of W. to the edge of the plains. We crossed a prairie a few miles in width; the ground is very soft; once we mired down, and it was only by unloading, double-teaming, and putting our shoulders to the wheel, that we succeeded in getting the wagon out. Obliged to encamp on the prairie, but found enough wood and water to answer our purposes. Saw a great many grouse and prairie snipe to-day; but, either because they were too wild, or we inexperienced in the art, did not succeed in killing them. Distance, 22 miles; 28 miles out.

Friday, March 30.—Started early. Soon found the road almost impassable. This portion of the prairie had been lately burned over, which made it much worse. Mired both wagons and mules very frequently, and it required all our strength, ingenuity and courage to get them out. We almost despaired getting through, for scarcely would we get them out, until they were in again. Came up with the troops this evening, and encamped with them in a beautiful spot on the border of a small prairie, through which ran a brook of clear, delicious water. The air was perfumed by a variety of shrubbery that grew along its banks, now in full bloom. Saw a few deer at a distance to-day. Out of corn for our mules, and the grass too short to afford them much nourishment. Very much fatigued by the day's labor, and turned in early. Distance, 5 miles—33.

Saturday, March 31.—Became acquainted with Lieuts. Dent and Updegraff—both apparently clever fellows. Dent has a brother in California. Almost worn out, but "necessity is the mother of invention," and we do not find ourselves in so great a dilemma, when our teams bog down, as we did at first, having learned to extricate them with less difficulty. Again encamped on a small stream, on the skirts of a "miniature prairie." This evening Howard and myself each mounted a mule, and started in search of corn for our suffering animals; after following a trail about three miles, we

9. Chamberlin so believed when he wrote this in his diary. Later, on April 7, he speaks of "a mess of Texians" with whom they caught up who "had left Fort Smith several weeks ago" and who were waiting for company but "scarcely knew where they were going." Perhaps, however, he did not regard them as an organized company.

came to a cabin of an Indian. He at first said he had none, but we knew by the stalks in his patch that he was lying; we were determined to have it, which he saw and gave in. We got as much as our animals could carry for $1.00 per hundred ears. In the meantime the old squaw was busily engaged dissecting a fine wild turkey, which she did without much ceremony, using her hands instead of a knife. Night overtook us and it was with difficulty we found our way back to camp, which we reached in time to partake of a hearty though simple supper. Distance, 4 miles—37.

Sunday, April 1.—Did not move camp. If ever the Sabbath was required as a day of "rest," this was, as well for our animals as ourselves; but idleness in camp becomes monotony, and as we could not endure that, some of us went gunning, and others fishing. I shot several large fox squirrels; others caught some small fish, resembling what we call sunfish. Our game made us a very palatable supper. The troops moved on this morning. The Sabbath is not observed in the army.[10] We have crossed several mountains and found abundance of iron ore and indications of coal. The soil in the valleys and prairies is undoubtedly good, judging from the luxuriant growth of grass in season. The Indians with their rude implements of cultivating the ground, raise fine crops of corn, although from their natural distaste of labor, they seldom grow more than they require for their own sustenance. While out gunning, strolling along an Indian trail, I almost trod upon a very large rattlesnake, stretched across the path. He commenced making music for me in a very high tone, but I silenced it by a bullet through his pate. Saw a number of deer, but could not get within shooting distance of them. The water in this neighborhood has a milky appearance. A number of Indians and squaws visited us today, begging tobacco, bread, etc. They are on their way to the agency, to traffic and encamp near us. The squaws imitate the men in riding by sitting astride the animal.

Monday, April 2.—Cloudy, indicating rain; the road somewhat better. Purchased some corn at $1.00 per bushel. Traveled over mountains and strips of prairie, the scenery varied and beautiful. Met an American in company with some Indians; they had been out on a hunting excursion.

---

10. Probably young Chamberlin had seen little of army life, and this sounds like a bit of prejudice. A quick glance at Marcy's report, for example, shows that his command did not move on Sundays, May 6, 13, and 20; and on May 27 we read: "Today (Sunday) in accordance with a rule I have adopted, we "lay by," to give the men time to wash, and the animals to graze and recruit." Foreman, *op. cit.*, 198, 204, 212, 217.

The American had six fine wild turkeys suspended from his saddle. He had lived with the Indians a number of years, and adopted their dress and customs. He was an intelligent man and said that he had been educated at one of the best literary institutions in the States, and received his diploma. What induced him to forsake civilized society and dwell among savages, he did not inform us. He certainly has a romantic fancy. The military ahead of us had very imprudently set the prairie on fire; it was rushing toward us, consuming everything before it; we could not retreat, but, halting our teams, some of us went ahead and encountering it at the edge of the woods, and after a severe effort, succeeded in arresting its progress in one spot wide enough for our wagons to pass through, which they did in safety. It was a fearful sight, and we were lucky in escaping the devouring flames so easily. We encamped on the skirt of the woods, bordering on a prairie, where we found a small pool of almost stagnant water. Purchased fowls, sweet potatoes, and peanuts, of some Indians, who had followed us all afternoon for the purpose of trading. The woods and prairies on fire all around our camp. Distance, 1 mile—49.

Tuesday, April 3.—After the wagons started this morning, I rambled through the woods and shot a fine mess of pigeons and partridges, and had a long tramp before I again overtook the company. Met an old Indian of whom we purchased some eggs, or "chickens," as they call them in broken English. The Choctaws are very dark colored. A good pony can be purchased of them for $5. Very thoughtlessly, I did not purchase one, for while we were making such short stages, I preferred walking, and gunning occasionally, to taking care of an extra animal. (I had reasons afterwards for repenting this negligence.) The road to-day was very good in comparison with what we have passed, except crossing the San Boy river, a stream 10 yards wide and pretty deep. The hills here abound in iron ore. Encamped on Cooper's creek this evening.[11] The grass is about three or four inches high and affords indifferent pasture for our stock. Some of the landscape scenery is truly fine being a constant succession of hills, vallies, woodland, and prairies, the last of which are now clothed in green interspersed with innumerable wild flowers of every variety and hue. Occasionally our table is furnished with a dish of "green" or wild onions. The old Indian trail, in many places, is not more than a foot wide, by which thousands pass yearly on their

11. Foreman, *op. cit.*, 156, remarks: "Cooper's Creek appears as Beaver Creek on modern maps."

way to the settlements to trade. The timber in this country, which is principally oak, is rather scrubby. Distance, 12 miles—61.

Wednesday, April 4.—In the course of the day we crossed the bridge, very difficult of ascent and descent. Overtook the government train and encamped on a stream of good water. I shot a very large hare, which made us an excellent supper and breakfast. Purchased some corn of an Indian by the way, and found we could get as much for three or four dimes as for a dollar, they preferring small change, and at the same time we gave them full value for their grain. They generally treat us very civilly, and never attempt to pilfer even the most trifling article. Distance, 9 miles—70.

Thursday, April 5.—Started early, but owing to the bad state of the road, we made but little progress, crossing many deep ravines, and encamped early. Rain this evening, but our tent comfortable. I shot eight gray squirrels as we traveled along to-day, which furnished a savory dish this evening. Distance, 6 miles—76.

Friday, April 6.—In to-day's journey we crossed a beautiful prairie about 8 miles in width, and over a very difficult mountain. A deep and apparently impassible ravine was now before us; this we crossed with less trouble than we anticipated, but not without a hard struggle on the part of our teams, which we doubled. A very heavy thunder shower now fell upon us, wetting us completely. Shortly afterwards we reached the bank of Gaines' creek.[12] This, after another hard siege, we forded, and encamped on the opposite bank about noon. The rain continued falling in torrents all night. We thought of encamping on the other side, but luckily for us we did not, for immediately after we crossed it commenced rising, and was soon full, the banks at least 30 feet high. There is a small mongrel settlement near us consisting of half-breeds, Indians, and negroes, which is reported as a place infested with thieves and robbers. The spot where we are encamped, although the best we can find, is a perfect mud hole. Distance, 11 miles—87.

Saturday, April 7.—Heavy showers continued falling during the night, and it has not ceased this morning. The military are encamped on the other side, where they must remain until the water falls. About noon we struck our tent, traveled about 3 miles, and encamped on another stream, so

12. Marcy identifies Gaines' creek as "the south fork of the Canadian." Foreman speaks of it as "the east branch of the South Fork of the Canadian" (*op. cit.*, 156, note).

swollen as to be impassible. There is a mess of Texians on the opposite bank, who have been waiting for several days for company. They had left Fort Smith several weeks ago and followed the Indian trail thus far. They scarcely knew where they were going, but I suppose had heard of California, knew it was westward, and were pushing forward in that direction. Distance, 3 miles—90.

Sunday, April 8.—On "watch" until 1 o'clock this morning. Stormed all night, making it impossible to trade or do anything else; we are almost swamped in mud and water, and are obliged to lay in our tents.

Monday, April 9.—Rained all night, cleared off this morning. Our mules wandered off during the night, but found them this afternoon; unable to proceed on account of the soft state of the earth. Busy drying bed clothes, repairing wagons, etc.

Tuesday, April 10.—Remained in camp for reasons given yesterday, engaged airing our provisions, washing our clothes, etc. The large, flat stones on the bank of the stream answer admirably instead of a wash machine, and the appearance of our linen, when "hung up to dry," would reflect honor upon a washerwoman skilled in the art. Endeavored to catch some of the small fish that appear to abound in the stream, but with little success. Howard fired at a deer yesterday but without effect. Quarreling among the soldiers, and punishment accordingly. Whisky the cause.

Wednesday, April 11.—Our teams were again under way this morning and crossed the stream a short distance above. The prairies and hills are very soft, but we got along tolerably well. The army kept along the side of the mountain, but after upsetting both wagons, they concluded to come back to the trail, which we had not left. Stopped at 4 o'clock. We have been in the Chickasaw Indian country since leaving Gaines' creek. They are fairer in complexion than the Choctaws; some of them can speak a little English. They grow some corn and vegetables. Distance, 10 miles—100.

---

## CHAPTER IV.

Thursday, April 12.—Made an early start; road very bad; frequently had to take the axe and cut out a new one, to avoid swampy places. About 11 o'clock we overtook the military, who were badly bogged, and shortly afterwards encamped, having apparently got to our journey's end; swamps, creeks and mountains on all sides. What we will

do next is yet to be determined; some exploring will have to be done. While washing the other day, the sun burned my arms severely; they are now swollen and very painful. Raining to-day, very cold and unpleasant. If I had been told before starting that we could pass over such a country and roads, I would not have believed it; but perseverance accomplishes wonders. Our wagons have held together in places where I expected them to be "smashed into pi." We are all in good health and spirits; our only cause for complaint is that we do not get along faster towards our place of destination. Walking all day gives us a keen relish for our frugal fare, which we enjoy while seated around our camp chest. Many a joke is cracked and many an anecdote of by-gone days is related. We almost forget that we have heretofore lived in a civilized country, and enjoyed the good things of the world. Nearly every day we grace our table with a dish of game, which take the place of bacon, and though not accompanied with the "fixin's" generally used in cooking, it is not to be sneered at. We find our India rubber coats, caps, beds, etc., very useful in case of rain, and the ground is constantly damp. Carrying an extra supply of clothing is an absurd idea, and I never would do it again. We have not a fowling piece in the company for shooting small game, which we regret very much.

Friday, April 13.—Remained in camp to-day. Another heavy thunder shower. From all appearances we will not reach "Choteau's" for weeks to come. We are within a few hundred yards of Coal creek, which we shall be obliged to cross.[13] It is much swollen and the water very cold. Another company has overtaken us, consisting of six tailors, lacking three of the complement necessary to "make a man," which is no joke in this instance, for, from their outward appearance, they are certainly "out of their element."[14] They and the Texians crossed the creek to-day. It was a foolish and

13. A comparison of distances from Fort Smith as given by this diary and by Marcy makes it probable that the Lewisburg party crossed Coal creek by what Marcy calls "the second ford." Foreman, *op. cit.*, 157.

14. One is curious to know where this young Pennsylvanian had picked up the old English proverb that "Nine tailors make a man." Had he been reading Thomas Carlyle, whose *Sartor Resartus* was published in 1833-34? In Book III, chapter 11, that author takes the proverb back into the 16th century in the passage: "Does it not stand on record that the English Queen Elizabeth, receiving a deputation of eighteen tailors, addressed them with a 'Good morning, gentlemen both!'" As if there were but two men in her presence. Ben Johnson, Shakespeare, and others seem to have allusions to the proverb; or again, in a letter of July 26, 1819, Sir Walter Scott wrote: "They say it takes nine tailors to make a man—apparently, one is sufficient to ruin him." *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, vol. ix, Part 2, "tailor."

unnecessary undertaking, but they finally succeeded, after wetting all their baggage and being obliged to swim.

Saturday, April 14.—We have concluded to wait until the creek falls, which is yet impassable. A very sudden change in the weather, too cold. Hail and rain this afternoon, very disagreeable.

Sunday, April 15.—Snow fell to the dept of three inches last night; the thermometer is down to 25° this morning at sunrise, which is something uncommon for this latitude, at this season of the year. It has rained almost continually since this month came in, and it is a fortunate circumstance that we have a waterproof tent and clothing. The grass is several inches high, the trees are in leaf, flowers in bloom, and everything indicates approaching summer. "Dame Nature" has certainly assumed a dress this morning that ill-becomes her. Emigrants should never leave the frontiers before the first of May; they only expose themselves to the inclemency of the weather, and use up their animals; indeed, a good deal of rain may be expected after this date.

Monday, April 16.—Weather settled, with prospects of its continuance, at least for a short time. Musser and myself busied ourselves at altering and fitting our harness, which have been too large for our mules. Lieuts. Dent and Updegraff visit our camp frequently to discuss politics, and the general topics of the day. Lieut. Dent is a graduate of West Point Military Academy, and Lieut. Updegraff was promoted from the ranks. Both served in Mexico during the war, and bear the evidence upon their persons.

Tuesday, April 17.—Making preparations to cross the creek this morning. We were obliged to "corduroy" the banks on both sides, being perfect swamps. "Hauled out" about nine o'clock, succeeded in crossing, with a great deal of difficulty. Passed through a canebrake.

Came across an Indian settlement, and purchased some corn of "Mr. Tecumseh." Encamped on the border of a small prairie, having made but little headway. Our road was through a continued swamp, and we frequently bogged down. After such a day's work as this our clothes present a sad appearance, for we cannot avoid the mud. We are all very much fatigued, need rest, and will "turn in" early. Distance, 4 miles; 104 miles out from Fort Smith.

Wednesday, April 18.—Made an early start and crossed what we supposed to be Cedar creek. The military employed two Indians this morning to guide them. We traveled over some very rough mountains, cutting our own road the greater part of the day, and when we at last emerged from the

woods, a prairie lay before us, with all the beauty in which Nature has arrayed these "natural fields" of the west. On the edge of this we pitched our tents, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The sight of these "spots" has an amazing effect upon our spirits, the timber land being more boggy, besides which, shouldering the axe and opening our way is not light work. This evening several men with pack animals encamped with us who had been but four days out from Fort Smith! Of course, we "scratched our heads," and wished we had our traps similarly arranged. Distance, 10—114.

Thursday, April 19.—Under way at 7 o'clock; crossed a small prairie and found ourselves at the foot of a high and very steep mountain, and the military at a stand—the Indian guide said there was no way but to cross the mountain, and they were afraid to undertake it. Armstrong and myself took the axe, and in a short time cut a road to the top, winding around to make the ascent more gradual. Up this the mules finally succeeded in dragging the wagons, assisted by all hands. But, strange to tell, we had not proceeded far, on the very back-bone of the ridge, until we were badly mired down. The descent at the farther end was also very rough and difficult, but at the foot we found a small, clear stream, on the bank of which we encamped about 4 o'clock. Caught a fine mess of sunfish for supper. To-day Lieut. Dent received an express from Capt. Marcy with information that he was on the road, but "travelling under ground" a great portion of the time. The man who brought the news (to hear him tell the story) was "downed" several times, "starved to death," and "killed by the Indians" as often. He was indeed a picture of a "used-up-man." He must have been "awfully scared"; but he stowed away the pork and beans, when they were passed around, as though nothing had happened.

Friday, April 20.—Our general course thus far has been a few degrees S. of W. The road better than usual to-day; crossed a creek within half a mile of its junction with the Canadian river. We are now in the Shawnee Indian country. Passed through one of their villages;[15] they appear to be a more civilized tribe than any we have yet met with. They have very good log cabins, arranged in a straight line, with a road or street passing along in front of them. The old chief of whom we purchased corn had a stern, commanding appearance, and intellectual physiognomy, and "fire" in his eye, but was very obliging. He said that he had been at war

15. This was probably what Marcy calls "the Shawnee village," not to be confused with Shawneetown (below).

with the whites, had fought many battles with them in the States, but was now at peace with everybody and hoped to remain so. As he said this his moistened eyes appeared to wander around upon the fields, and cabins, of this, a portion of the remnant of his once powerful tribe, with a seeming, though melancholy pride. Some of the squaws were handsome, with regular features, and in dress imitated the style of the whites. One in particular, the wife of a white man who was absent on a hunting excursion, was quite fashionably dressed. Her house and contents were comfortable and neatly arranged, and not the least prominent article of furniture was a clean looking bed and bedstead, curtained and festooned off *a-la-mode*. From this lady we procured eggs, chickens, milk, etc. Distance, 8 miles—122.

Saturday, April 21.—Made little progress today; our course lay over a rough and mountainous country. We were followed all day by Indians wanting to trade with us. They had corn and potatoes, and generally wanted clothing of some description in exchange. They have a good idea of the worth of the different articles we offered them, and are well acquainted with the value of money. These half-civilized Indians have a great dread of the wild "Redskins" of the plains, and tremble when the word "Comanche" is named. They appear to think that we are a foolhardy set to venture through this country, and that we will certainly get into trouble. The grass is becoming more nourishing to the stock, which are fast improving. We have pitched our tent upon the bank of a brook, and have quite a crowd of Indians about us. They are very independent and even insolent, but will beg tobacco, this being the first thing they ask for. Distance, 6 miles—128.

Sunday, April 22.—Rain this morning. For fear of detention by high waters, concluded to travel to-day. Crossed a number of deep, boggy slues, in one of which we broke the bolster of our wagon; another upset in the stream, injuring the wagon and wetting our baggage; a third broke the tongue of their wagon. We soon repaired ours and were again under way. Soon after we reached a prairie several miles in length, but quite narrow. From the number of horses and cattle we saw grazing, we knew we were near an Indian settlement. We encamped early, and were soon visited by a number of squaws, bringing eggs, fowls, milk, butter, etc., to sell, and afterwards by the men on horseback. We learned that we were within two miles of the Canadian river, five miles of Edwards' trading house on the opposite side, and half a mile of "Shawnee town." This village is situated in

the woods between the prairie and the river, very much scattered, being several miles in length. The Canadian divides the Shawnee and Creek Indian Territory. Distance, 10 miles—138.

Monday, April 23.—Major Green and myself rode over to Edwards' trading house, which is situated on Little river, near its junction with the Canadian.[16] It is 180 miles from Fort Smith on the old road, which is the one we should have taken. We forded the Canadian, which is here about 600 yards wide. The water is brackish, turbid, and of a yellowish color. The bed of the river is entirely quicksand, which is in constant motion. We were obliged to hurry our animals across to prevent them from sinking. There are a number of cabins about this trading post, inhabited by a motley race of whites, Indians and negroes. Old Mr. Edwards has grown wealthy, but at the same time gray, and bordering on second childhood, in this traffic with the Indians. The Knickerbocker company from New York passed Edwards' last week. They disposed of many of their effects here; have had a great deal of trouble and contention in their party.[17] Two wagons overtook and encamped near us this evening. A heavy thunder shower last night; to-day very pleasant.

Tuesday, April 24.—Started at seven o'clock this morning, the road better, and the country more open than usual. We have been luxuriating for some days upon the many good things we procured from the Shawnees, such as wild turkey, fresh pork, milk, butter, eggs, sweet potatoes, peanuts, etc., and a dish of fritters; butter cakes or doughnuts, is not uncommon on our table. Distance, 10 miles—148.

Wednesday, April 25.—Remained in camp to-day. The government teams gone back to Shawneetown for corn. The

16. Foreman (*op. cit.*, 157, note; 159) locates Edwards' trading house more definitely as "on the right bank of Little River one and one half miles above where it debouches from the north into the Canadian." It was the last settlement on this route until reaching the first Spanish villages of New Mexico.

17. This Knickerbocker company had not come over the new road, but the older one which followed the north side of the Canadian. Numbering about 75 men, well armed and well equipped, they had left Fort Smith on March 26 and reached Edwards' on April 11. Chamberlin's observation about them agrees with that of others; as one wrote: "The New Yorkers divested themselves of many dainties and much extra clothing which they had provided between Fort Smith and this point (North Fork Town). They gave them to the Indians and threw them away—any way to lessen their lading. . . . Clamor and dissension have prevailed in every one of the organized camps. . . . Every party is breaking up and a part of each are packing. The New York party that preceded us about 75 strong, will return, not more than half their number, with the wagons. The others will pack." The Knickerbocker party did succeed in maintaining its identity, however, and after reorganizing at Edwards' on Little river, they had continued west (as here noted) several days before the Lewisburg party arrived by the new road. Foreman, *op. cit.*, 22-24, 169-170, 175, 178-9.

Indians promised to bring us corn and "coot flour" to camp, but did not fulfil. Persons living in a civilized country, unacquainted with the Indian character, would naturally sympathize with them and would dwell for hours upon the wrongs they had received at the hands of the whites, but a short acquaintance with these Redskins, will suffice to change that opinion. They are a treacherous, lying, dishonest people, with but few redeeming traits of character. We gave them no opportunities to pilfer from us.

Thursday, April 26.—Started at 6 o'clock this morning, and traveled over a level country, at a pretty fast rate, until 9 o'clock, when it commenced raining, and the troops encamped. We determined to go on. I ascended a high point or bluff, off which I had a fine view of a large and beautiful scope of country—woodland and strips of prairie alternately, wanting but the houses to give it the appearance of a vast settlement. We made the compass our guide, and steered in a due west direction, cutting our own road for about five miles, when we encamped, satisfied that we had done a reasonable day's work. There is a great abundance of iron ore in this section of country, and the soil is a rich loam, producing fine grass. The water in the small streams we crossed to-day was as clear as crystal, but of a soft, brackish taste. The sun is generally very hot during the day, and the night uncomfortably cool. Distance, 13 miles—161.

Friday, April 27.—Started early, and after crossing a creek, struck upon a high prairie, over which we passed at a good rate until 2 o'clock p.m., when we bore a little N. of W. and soon found ourselves in a tight place—rocks, ravines and woods all around us; but we finally reached our camp ground, after upsetting one of our wagons in a deep ravine; fortunately we broke nothing. Part of our course to-day was through a fine country. Crossed what Lieut. Dent called the Delaware mountains; the scenery from some of the peaks was truly magnificent. The streams of water crossed to-day were limpid, but saltish in taste. From the appearance of the country, we must be near the Canadian river, and by what we can learn from the Indians, about 25 miles from "Choteau's." It is high time we reach that point, which has been more the topic with us than the gold mines of California. We have no good feelings for the founders of the new road, and hope but few will venture upon it. Distance, 18 miles—179.

## CHAPTER V.

Saturday, April 28.—Several of us started ahead of the wagons, early this morning, to "cut and blaze" the road, which we did for about four miles thro' a scrub oak and briar thicket, when the wagons came up with us; crossed a wide creek, flowing towards the Canadian, the bed being quicksands; passed through several miles of timber, which proved to be the "Cross Timbers" which separated the Indian Territory from the Plains of "Great American Desert." The Delaware Indians inhabit this portion of the country; the mountains of name are nothing more than a high, bald prairie. About noon, we came out upon the great plain, which extends north, south and west as far as the eye can reach. Saw two antelopes today, and fired two shots at them as they ran or rather flew by us. Several fine turkeys killed today, and a prairie chick's nest robbed of 14 eggs. Tonight, as I sit by the fire on guard, I am well serenaded by wolves, which keep up a perfect chorus. As yet, we have seen no buffalo, except their old "crossings," and a number of "frames" or skeletons. By uniting a hard day's labor with a hard day's travel, some idea can be formed of how we have been getting along, and how we feel when we encamp at night. We have been one month out from Fort Smith, today. Lieutenant Updegraff has encamped some miles back, to await the arrival of Captain Marcy with provisions; Lieutenant Dent, to save his credit, came up with us this evening, alone, determined to be in advance to Choteau's, so it cannot be said that we laid out the road for him, although he has ordered the troops to follow our trail. A good pocket compass is an indispensable article in traveling through this country. Wild turkey for supper. Distance, 15 miles—194.

Sunday, April 29.—Remembered the "Sabbath" today, by pursuing our journey. We left our encampment at 6 o'clock and had a fine high prairie for several miles, but were again interrupted by creeks and slues which detained us very much. Encamped this evening within two miles of the river. We breakfasted on turkey and venison. Strawberries are abundant on the plain, and beginning to ripen. There has been a strong hot wind blowing today; water very scarce, and unfit for use. Distance, 12 miles—206.

Monday, April 30.—Our course today was along the dividing ridge between the Canadian and Watchita rivers. Encamped on a small ravine, where we could scarcely procure enough water for cooking purposes. This evening a Delaware Indian visited our camp. He called himself Big

Buck, and could speak a good deal of English. He said that we were within 8 miles of Choteau's, and gave us a great deal of information in regard to the country. In return we gave him his supper, and he ate fully six men's rations, enough, he said, to last him three days. When he departed he promised to come in the morning and guide us to Choteau's, and find us a good crossing, etc. He and his companions are out from their village on a hunting expedition. Distance, 15 miles—221.

Tuesday, May 1.—Big Buck came according to agreement, to act as guide. On reaching the river, several of our company crossed, and went in search of a trading house. We caught some fine fish, in which the Canadian abounds; and the Indians trap a good many otter along its banks. This afternoon we crossed our teams, with but little difficulty, the river being wide, but shallow. We were obliged to keep the wagons "rolling" to prevent their sinking into the quicksand. Encamped on the north side of the river, where we had excellent feed for our stock. Distance, 6 miles—227.

Wednesday, May 2.—Reached Choteau's this morning, in an hour's travel.[18] We found an organized company of emigrants here, about 200 men, with 40 wagons, under the command of Captain Bass;[19] also some scattering messes, and some families, who were waiting for Captain Marcy's escort. We heard that the Knickerbocker company had passed several years [days] ago, also the Cherokee company,[20] and a pack mule company. Encamped, and deliberated upon "what was to be done next." Distance, 3 miles—230.

Thursday, May 3.—This morning, I visited what was formerly an extensive Indian trading post, established by Mr. Choteau, of St. Louis; how long since he abandoned it, I am not able to learn.[21] Some years ago, Mr. Edwards, of Little River, 80 miles below, sent up a lot of goods and ne-

---

18. Foreman, *op. cit.*, 198, quotes Simpson's *Report*, p. 6, as saying that Chouteau's trading-house "is at this time a locality with a name but no habitation."

19. Captain John L. Bass headed the Western Rovers Company of 96 members who organized at Sulphur Springs on March 31 and started from Fort Smith on April 3,—evidently by the older road. The number here given shows that they had had many additions en route. Foreman, *op. cit.*, 27.

20. That the Cherokee company had passed Chouteau's is surprising but may be correct. The company was organized on April 24 "at the crossing of the Grand River at the Grand Saline near what is now Salina, Oklahoma." They did not go through by the new route, but they did pass Chouteau's. *Ibid.*, 67-69. A. C. Russell, in a letter which he wrote from Little River on April 17, mentioned the Cherokee company: "The Cherokees are on the road, and will, perhaps, join us before we leave here." *Ibid.*, 176.

21. Col. A. P. Chouteau built his post here in 1836 and maintained it until his death in 1838. Foreman, *op. cit.*, 200, note.

groes, with a man in charge, to trade with the Indians, cultivate corn, etc. After they had a crop raised, and everything going on as well as could be wished, they were suddenly attacked by the Comanches; the negroes fled, and the overseer was killed; the buildings were set on fire, and everything burned to the ground. From the remains, it can be seen that there were several buildings, enclosing on three sides a court about 150 feet square, the open side to the east.

We have determined not to travel with a large company, if we could find 20 or 30 men of our mind. A mess of nine Virginians have concluded to go with us. This evening we struck camp, and traveled a few miles upon the plain; halted on a small ravine, amid heavy rain; here we found a mess of eight men from Baton Rouge, La., who also agreed to go with us. Distance, 6 miles—236.

Friday, May 4.—Rained all day but we continued moving along. Encamped early, for the purpose of organizing a company for mutual protection as far as Santa Fe or Rio Grande. Elected Major Green, captain. There are 31 men in our company, and nine wagons. Fitzhugh, Winston, Winston, Jenifer, Burnell, Rockyfellar, Hart, Bornan, and Jim, from Virginia; Dixon, Dixon, Gathwait, Heddenburg, Pierren, Meeker, Martin and Henry, from Louisiana; Dougherty, Dougherty, Green, Faras, Parker, Campbell and George from Texas—these, including our mess, formed our little company. Some thought it rather rash to attempt passing through the Comanche country with so small a force, but all agreed that our animals would fare better, and we would be more likely to get along in harmony, (both of which proved true). Distance, 30 miles—286.

Saturday, May 6.—Started at 8 o'clock. Traveled over a perfectly level plain. The road being good, we made excellent time. The road is so much better than that we have been traveling over for the last five weeks, that we scarcely know when to stop. We are now fairly launched upon the plains, and if "wind and tide" favor us, we will "probably live" to see the end of our journey. We were obliged to leave the road a mile or more this evening, for the purpose of encamping with wood and water. Rain and heavy thunder showers during the night. Distance, 30 miles—286.

Sunday, May 6.—In the course of today's travel, there was frequently not a tree or shrub in sight. Passed through a large prairie dog village; the earth was very spouty and damp where they had burrowed. We saw a number that were apparently guarding their habitations, but turned in upon our approach. We did not succeed in killing any. They

are said to be delicious eating. Encamped on a ravine and had good water and feed. Distance, 15 miles—295.

Monday, May 7.—Left camp at 8 o'clock, shortly reached and crossed the Canadian river; it has the same singular, turbid appearance, and quicksand bed. The road today has been very good. This route has never been traveled before, so that our course is merely marked out and not a solid road. There are probably 20 wagons in advance of us. We are now in the Comanche Indian range, but as yet have seen but few traces of them, or rather it may be considered neutral ground between the savage and half-civilized Indian tribes. Game is very scarce, and although there have been at one time vast numbers of buffalo on these plains, yet as civilization advances this animal retreats toward the setting sun. We have pitched our camp upon a high point, where the horizon does not appear to be more than a half mile distant on all sides. Distance, 20 miles—315.

Tuesday, May 8.—Our course today lay over a high, level plain, very solid, which made the wheeling good. We passed a great number of natural mounds today, of various shapes, which gave the landscape an odd, romantic appearance. The mounds are composed of a red colored, rotten sandstone, and earth of the same nature and color. The grass on the plains is short, but very nourishing to our animals. Water and wood have been very scarce today; we almost despaired of finding a place to encamp until 4 p.m., when we crossed several ridges of white stone, which we decided to be plaster; the grass appearing to be more fresh, and we soon found water and wood enough to answer all purposes. The former, however, was so hard that we could scarcely use it. Today we saw the first traces of buffalo—their watering places, fresh dung, and newly cropped grass; and about 3 o'clock, saw seven bulls feeding about a mile from the road. At that moment what would I not have given for a good horse; I could have exclaimed "a horse! a horse! a kingdom for a horse!" As it was, I could but witness the sport. Several of the men gave chase, and succeeded in killing one, and wounding three more. We found seventeen bulls grazing behind a small mound, within one-fourth of a mile of camp. Messrs. Fitzhugh and Winston wounded one of them, pursued him several miles, and finally killed him, but did not reach camp until late at night. During the day we had also killed a deer, turkey, prairie chicks, and ducks, and we are enjoying a bounteous feast this evening. If our situation was known by our friends at home, they would certainly envy us. The bull meat, however, proved rather tough; oth-

erwise it resembled beef, excepting the wild flavor. Wolves, rattlesnakes and toads abundant. Distance, 20 miles—335.

Wednesday, May 9.—Crossed several deep and difficult ravines today, and encamped on a stream running in a S. E. direction. It is about 20 yards wide, and we suppose a branch of Red River. The water is very red, turbid and unfit for use. Fortunately, we had filled one of our India rubber bags during the day, which served us for cooking. Jerking our venison and buffalo meat this evening. We have very fine grass at this camp. Caught some fine catfish and soft shelled turtle in the stream. The weather is very warm, and I find walking all day pretty tiresome work. Passed the remains of a horse, left by some company in advance of us. Distance, 16 miles—351.

Thursday, May 10.—Passed over a high rolling prairie; the few shrubs that grow in the "arroyos" are in full bloom, which served to cheer the monotony of this vast waste. Found but little water, gathered a mess of mushrooms for supper. Encamped upon a small running stream, of very red water. It will not affect soap. Distance, 20 miles—371.

Friday, May 11.—Rain this morning; cleared off, and we started; weather very warm and sultry. About 2 o'clock we were met by a most terrific hail storm; there was a constant stream of lightning and peal after peal of thunder; ice fell to the depth of two inches in a few minutes. Our animals were so frightened as to be unmanageable, and they ran, with the wagon, in every direction over the prairie, and when the storm ceased, some of us were out of each other's sight. I had on an India rubber cap, and my head was sore for several days afterwards from the beating of the hail. Some of the men happening to have some brandy with them, iced it, and drank "hail storm." Found a deserted wagon. It appears by a handbill left upon it, that it was owned by a mess of three, one of whom had strayed off, and was supposed to have been killed by the Indians, the other two had abandoned the wagon, and started in search of their comrade. Thus far we have had but little trouble with our animals. Immediately after encamping, we turned them out to graze until dark, under guard. We then tie them up, and guard them during the night, and loose them early in the morning. We generally form our wagons into a "corral," put the animals inside, and our fires on the outside. Although we apprehend but little danger from the Indians, it is best to be prepared. Distance, 18 miles—389.

Saturday, May 12.—Encamped this evening on the banks of the Canadian river. The water is very blackish and

ill-tasted, but we are obliged to use it. The plains which heretofore were covered with grass, wild flowers and odorous plants, have become barren and hilly; and traveling is much impeded by deep arroyos and sand hills. Distance, 20 miles—409.

Sunday, May 13.—Remained in camp today, to rest, and graze our wearied animals. We very much need rest ourselves. Washing our clothes, and preparing for another week's travel.

Monday, May 14.—Started early, and traveled on, and near the bank of the Canadian all day. We now find it necessary to keep near the river, to find water and grass. Passed a number of mounds. Encamped on a small pool of water, near a deserted Indian encampment, which is not 10 days old. There had been 18 lodges. Distance, 30 miles—439.

Tuesday, May 15.—Opposite our camp on the other bank of the river, there is a desert of sand, entirely destitute of vegetation. It resembles a snow drift, having no doubt been formed by high winds. It is several miles square. There appears to be as much water in the Canadian, here, as there was 200 miles below. I suppose it loses as much by evaporation, as it gains by the few streams, that put into it for that distance. In all respects it retains the same appearance, excepting that the growth of cotton wood on its banks is more sparse. We have not as yet resorted to "buffalo chips" for fuel, but I find that one answers the purpose of a writing desk at present. Distance, 16 miles—455.

Wednesday, May 16.—Our course today has been along the flat of the river, which in places is very narrow, and in other a half mile broad. Occasionally we come across a patch of good grass. For several days we have crossed no streams putting into the river. The sand in our road is very heavy, and the weather hot, which makes traveling very laborious upon man and beast. Passed a number of large mounds upon the plains which resembled the former ones. We are much annoyed by sand flies and gnats. Saw some wild flax, and a great variety of wild flowers, some of which were rare and beautiful. Grapes grow in abundance, and a few dwarf plums. The scalp of an emigrant was taken a few days ago, by the Indians, and hung upon a pole in the road. It was by a company in advance of us. They probably thought to frighten us by this act of hostility, but will find out to the contrary. A hailstorm this morning and a heavy shower threatens this evening. Distance, 20 miles—475.

Thursday, May 17.—We have traveled along the banks of the river for several days. About noon today we crossed

a large branch, which was much swollen, and very cold on account of the recent hail storm. Our general rule for traveling is as follows: Start at 8 o'clock in the morning, and continue without intermission until 4 p.m., when we encamp, and graze our mules, until 8, then tie them up until 4 in the morning, and again start at 8. Distance, 20 miles—495.

Friday, May 18.—Overtaken by a pack mule company this morning. Road very heavy, caused by the recent rains. Saw some beautiful specimens of "cactus" in bloom—they were several colors, but principally yellow. I have suffered severely from toothache for several days; contrary to all rules it commenced after all our sugar had run out. We are getting scarce of bread stuff, but have plenty of bacon and beans. Distance, 20 miles—515.

---

## CHAPTER VI.

Saturday, May 19.—The country presents a rough, broken and very barren appearance. There is a species of rank grass growing on the flats of the river; one stock that I measured out of curiosity was 27 feet long. Crossed a large, dry branch of the Canadian to-day, and it was with difficulty that the mules dragged the wagons through it. We see a great many of "Captain Lee's Mexican toads" on our way.[22] Pitched our tent in time to escape a soaking. Distance 15 miles—530.

Sunday, May 20.—The wind is very high, which has blown the sand over everything, ruining our victuals, etc. The grass is poor, and of a salty nature, and the water is strongly impregnated with salt. Although we had proposed remaining here over Sabbath, some of the company, considering our situation, were in favor of moving; a vote was taken and decided to travel. The flat on the river appeared to end here, and we were obliged to ascend a high and very steep bluff. Continued traveling over a high barren plain; crossed one small stream and passed small spring of good water, where some of us fortunately filled our kegs, canteens, etc., for we were obliged to encamp upon the plains, without wood or water, not a tree or shrub to be seen as far as the eye can reach over the barren waste. We are getting out of the buffalo range, but succeeded in finding enough dung to boil our coffee, by carrying the sack full of "chips"

22. Probably horned toads, which are found over much of the Southwest and of northern Mexico.

about two miles. When perfectly dry it is a good substitute for wood, and our cooking was very palatable. We have been traveling south to-day. Distance, 20 miles—550.

Monday, May 21.—The first day we have escaped a shower since we left Choteau's. No dew fell last night, and we had to drive several miles out of our way this morning to procure water. We have seen very little or no game for several days. What the Creator designed this barren portion of the world for is more than I can imagine, unless, like the deserts of Africa, it was thrown in "to fill up." The road was heavy and we made but little progress. Encamped early, with an abundance of good wood, water, and grass. Here we came upon an old wagon road, which we afterwards learned was the route traveled by Mexican traders into the Indian country. Distance, 15 miles—565.

Tuesday, May 22.—Some of the company anxious to "lie by" to-day, but again decide by vote to travel, and accordingly started; ascended a high range of hills and kept along the backbone, over a solid gravel road. Encamped at half past one o'clock; had good grass, water, and some wood. Shortly after we had pitched our tents, we were visited by three Mexicans; they were rough looking fellows and the first we had seen. They said they lived at a ranch ten miles to the south, but could speak no English. A sight of them, however, was cheerful, and we began to think we were near the borders of Mexico. The weather has been pleasant to-day, with a good breeze from the west. Walter Winston has been very unwell for some days, but is recovering. The faces of some of the party, bitten by gnats and sandflies, are dreadfully swollen, and very painful. To-day we saw a new variety of prickly pears or cactus, that grew in the form of a bush. It had some fruit upon it; curiosity prompted some of us to taste it; we were soon satisfied, and came away with our mouths stuck full of small barbs, which we could not extract. We have already decided to pack from Santa Fe, if we can procure the necessary outfit at that place. Weather uncomfortably warm. Distance, 15 miles—580.

Wednesday, May 23.—Visited this morning by several Mexicans; one of them spoke pretty good English. He has been in the employ of Americans for 25 years, and made a trip to California years ago. Some years since, he was employed by "Boyl Drake" (formerly of Lewisburg), to assist him to take 12 live buffaloes to the East for exhibition. Maj. Green had seen them to [at] Philadelphia, and recognized the Mexican although he has since lost an eye, and is otherwise disfigured. Our course nearly S. W., over hard gravel

plains. Prairie dogs abundant. Encamped on a small pool of standing water. Distance, 20 miles—600.

Thursday, May 24.—The country presents the usual appearance to-day. Traveled 9½ hours; crossed a small stream, where we supplied ourselves with wood and water, and went further in search of grass. Ascended several large hills, and continued our course over a high plain; annoyed by a very high wind, which impeded our motion, and filled our eyes with sand. Finding it impossible to keep a hat upon my head, I laid it aside, and received the scorching rays of the sun upon my bare pate. Dr. Winston shot an antelope to-day, the meat of which was pronounced the most tender and delicious we had ever eaten. They are a beautiful animal and as fleet as the wind; we see a good many of them, but they are difficult to kill. Encamped near some puddles of wretched water, the grazing very indifferent. Distance, 25 miles—625.

Friday, May 25.—Passed over a broken and barren plain to-day. The grass is fast drying up. About 1 o'clock we came to a rocky chasm in the bottom of which there was a little water, which was a God-send, for we were very much in need of it. Millions of swallows inhabit these rocks, attaching their nests to them; in one place, under a large overhanging rock, there were a great many hieroglyphics, painted and carved in the stone, imitating persons, beasts, birds, reptiles, and one in particular, which we supposed was intended to represent the evil spirit; there were also a great number of large stone crucibles lying about; what they were used for was more than we could discover. Altogether it is a strange, wild, and picturesque place. There are recesses in the rocks that would shelter and hide thousands of persons. From the numerous trails about it we suppose it to be a great resort of the Indians, to trade with the Mexicans. There were 17 of the latter encamped amongst the rocks, who offered to sell us corn, tobacco, etc.; they pack it hither upon mules and asses. Our road from this point appears much plainer. These Mexicans said they were out upon a trading expedition with the Comanches. They asked $2.50 per bushel for corn, and sixpense apiece for their hard, black-looking crackers. They informed us that we were yet 200 miles distant from Santa Fe, but we doubted their word, supposing it to be to their interest to sell us their merchandise. We are encamped upon a puddle of water, with a little wood, and poor grass. We have not more than three days supply of breadstuffs on hand. Distance, 25 miles—650.

Saturday, May 26.—Started at the usual time this

morning, and traveled until 7¼ p.m.; finding no water except one pool which was too salty for use; some of us suffered very much from thirst. We did not encamp until after dark, when a little water was found in a rocky ravine a mile from camp; we did not get all the animals watered until midnight, then made a cup of tea and "turned in," after a hard day's travel, and our difficulties were soon forgotten in a sound sleep. We met another gang of Mexican traders to-day. A pack-mule company ahead of us, in searching for water, became separated, and lost to each other. The Mexicans also became scattered, being also in search of water. High wind during the night. Distance, 33 miles—683.

Sunday, May 27.—We have had but one day's rest since leaving Choteau's, and concluded to remain in camp to-day. The reason we have not stopped oftener is that we have never found good water, or grass enough for our animals, and being in hopes of finding better every day. Our great objection to this route across the plains will be the scarcity of food. How large companies will fare, I can not tell; but I think that many an ox-team will never reach Santa Fe. Mules endure thirst much better than cattle. The range of the Rocky mountains that runs through New Mexico, is in sight in the west. One large peak has the appearance of a perfect dome, and others have peculiar shapes. There is a long range of bluffs to the south of us, covered with a small growth of cedar. I have been interested to-day in reading Bryant's "What I saw in California."[23] The portion that treats on his journey across the plains agrees pretty well with our experience, except that three great necessaries—water, grass and wood, were more abundant on his route, and his road being a plain, well beaten one. Our tent was blown down by the storm last night.

Monday, May 28.—The wind was very high during the night, and when I awoke this morning was almost suffocated with sand. While the storm was raging, we were alarmed by cries of distress near our camp; we answered and groped our way toward them as well as we could in the dark; their continued cries served to guide us to them, when we found them to be a company of Mexicans, who had been scattered and driven out of their way by the storm. They were very much alarmed, and did not move from the spot until daylight. This morning a company of emigrants with six wagons overtook us and turned in to encamp, where we had

23. William Cullen Bryant had been editor of the New York *Evening Post* from 1829. Perhaps Chamberlin had gotten hold of a copy which carried this account.

left. They had been without water since the morning before. We have had a comfortable breeze today, and our course had led over a rather barren plain, broken by mounds and rocky peaks, amongst which we wound our way. One cluster of conical shaped mounds rising up, one behind the other, reminds me of a picture upon the cover of my old school atlas, representing the heights of the different mountains in the world. The general scenery to-day has been grand, gloomy and picturesque. We are now obliged to use the dry branches of the cactus for fuel. Found some wild peas today, of which our animals are very fond; passed through some patches of wild flax, and saw a great variety of wild flowers, but being no botanist I can not give their names; they are altogether strange to me and peculiar to the country and climate. Encamped on a small dry stream, in the bed of which were a few holes of water, so salty that we could scarcely use it; but stern necessity compels us to drink or die. Some wood and grass. Distance, 18 miles—701.

Tuesday, May 29.—To-day our road ran through a valley bounded on the north, west and south by high peaks, pyramid-shaped hills and mounds, covered with a scrubby growth of cedars; the grass is all dried up, and we found no water until 4 o'clock p.m., when we came to a ditch filled with red, muddy water. Our animals drank without measure; when I tasted, I found it so nauseous that I could not drink. We were obliged to encamp and make the most of it. This is a watering place for a flock of several thousand sheep, which are grazed in the neighborhood, and driven into a natural fold in the mountain, where they are watched by shepherds and dogs. The plain to-day has been covered with bear grass; the root resembles a pineapple, from which a large top of coarse grass springs up, very sharp at the ends. The animals are afraid of it and turn out of its way when in the road. A stalk grows out of the center, to the height of several feet, bearing a white, drooping flower. Distance, 20 miles—721.

Wednesday, May 30.—While the teams were passing through the outlet of the valley, I clambered to the top of one of the high ridges. The mountains appear to be composed of red sand, or granite rock; those uppermost were very much washed and worn by water, although from the present parched appearance of the country it would be natural to think that it is never visited by rain. I found some rich specimens of iron ore, of which mineral there is undoubtedly a great abundance in these mountains. Saw a number of mocking birds, and it did me good to hear these little song-

sters, imitating the various birds of the country; I only regretted that I could not listen to them any longer. Shortly afterwards, we found the country more broken. Cedar appears to be the only wood, except a few scrubby pines, the odor of which, when we broke the twigs, resembles a good, ripe apple. Passed a large flock of sheep and goats, herded by dogs and several wretched looking Mexicans. We purchased a sheep for $1.50 and a lamb for half price; the mutton tasted very good. The wool grown in this country is remarkably coarse, no regard being paid to its improvement, although the country is well adapted to wool-growing. Here we found a basin of water in the rock, strongly impregnated with salt and "sheepishness." We watered our stock and proceeded until 6 o'clock, when we encamped (as we supposed) without food or water, but found a small spring of water about a mile from camp, where we obtained a scanty supply. Cactus for fuel. Distance, 25 miles—736.

Thursday, May 31.—The country to-day has the usual rough, hilly appearance; sun very powerful this morning, and not a breath of air stirring. Overtook a pack-mule company who had lost the greater part of their stock during the night; they were in an unpleasant situation, and we agreed to carry a part of their baggage to the first Mexican town. Found no water until evening, when we encamped on a pure, running stream, about 20 feet wide, very deep and swift. We did not learn the name of it, but no doubt it finds its way to the Rio Grande; it heads in the mountains to the north, and is very cold.[24] This is the first running water we have crossed in a distance of 200 miles, and, together with the old-fashioned romantic mountain scenery around us, it had a cheering effect upon us. Used the small green willows that grew upon the bank of the stream for fuel. Distance, 25 miles—771.

---

## CHAPTER VII

Friday, June 1.—Crossed the stream and ascended a long sloping hill, surrounded on all sides by a rough, mountainous country. The grass in the small valleys is very short, owing to the vast amount of stock that is grazed here. Passed through large herds of cattle and sheep. At the top

---

24. This was probably the main stream of Gallinas creek, a tributary of the Pecos river. When General Marcy was here three weeks later (June 23), he described it as "a fine running stream, with a rock bed, and fifty yards wide." Foreman, *op. cit.*, 244. If it was the same which Chamberlin here says was "about 20 feet wide, very deep and swift," it is evident that Marcy hit a better fording place; also by the last of June the volume of such a stream would be apt to be at its greatest.

of the hill we found a small, cool spring, gushing up from the rocks, the water slightly impregnated with sulphur; shortly afterwards, came to a "fork" in our road. Here we were in a dilemma, not knowing which to pursue; after several hours delay, we concluded to "go it blind."[25] Encamped on a small plain; found a small pool of water about a mile from camp, but not enough for our stock. There was a shepherd's camp near us, of whom we procured some of the richest milk I ever drank, and what a luxury! They inform us that we are within a few miles of San Miguel.[26] Distance, 18 miles—789.

Saturday, June 2.—Started early this morning, in expectation of seeing some place very soon, but did not reach "town" until late in the afternoon; passed two Mexican ranches on the way; if all the inhabitants of New Mexico live in a similar manner, they are to be pitied. Their miserable mud-dwellings do not compare with the more comfortable log cabins of the colonized Indians, on the border of the States. This country and its inhabitants are certainly "pretty accessions" to the property and influence of "Uncle Sam." Here we saw a rich specimen of the packing business; several jackasses were loaded with about 400 pounds of corn each, and driven off to market. Here we also saw some of the effects of missionary labor. A Mexican woman had several fine looking white rhildren clinging around her; their father, she said, was an "American missionary," but he had "vamoosed" to the states—poor woman![27] Before reaching San Miguel, we came out upon the Santa Fe and Independence road. It is better than any macadamized road I ever saw in the states, being broad, smooth and solid. Crossed Pacos river, a large tributary of the Rio Grande; it is about thirty yards wide, and rapid. The water is good, and very

25. Continuing the quotation from Marcy in our last note, he wrote: "Nine miles from here (where they forded the Gallinas) there is a spring of cold water; and at this place the road forks, the right leading to San Miguel, the left to Anton Chico. We took the latter, and reached the Pecos before night, making a drive of thirty-one miles. This was the first settlement we had seen since leaving Edwards' trading-house. . . ." Foreman, *op. cit.*, 244-245.

26. The full Mexican name of this little town was "San Miguel del Bado" (of the ford). During the Mexican period (1821-46), the Santa Fé Trail forded the Pecos river at this point, and a small squad of soldiers was maintained here to welcome traders with their loaded wagons—to see that they did not evade paying the customs due, as they entered New Mexico.

27. Could someone of the Mormon Battalion have tarried by the way? Certainly no "American" missionary, Roman Catholic or Protestant, arrived sufficiently early to account for this family. One is inclined to think that young Chamberlin was over credulous. The responsible party, or parties, might better be surmised as among the countless traders who had been using this highway for some thirty years.

cold, caused by the snow melting off the mountains to the north, the white capped peaks of which are in sight. San Miguel is situated on this river. It is composed of about seventy-five adobe hovels, one story high, all the outbuildings (if they have any) being within the same walls. There are several stores of groceries in the place, their principal business being the sale of inferior liquor, at a "bit" a glass. We encamped near the town; there is no grass within miles of the place, but we were lucky in getting some corn at $1.50 per bushel; it is very inferior to the corn raised in the states. The only land in the vicinity that can be cultivated is the narrow flats along Pacos river, and there it requires irrigation. Walked into town this evening to "see the sights." Our attention was soon attracted to a "Fandango," open to all, and especially to American emigrants. This was a curiosity to me; it was certainly a shade faster than anything of the kind I had ever seen before—a medley of Mexicans and Americans, dancing upon a ground floor with the "Marguerettas" of the country, the face of each of these ornamented with a cigarette. Some of their dances were pretty, keeping remarkably good time with the music, the gentlemen being obliged to treat their partners to a glass of wine at the end of each set. But the "noise and confusion," heat, smoke, dust, fumes of liquor, and the strange "lingua," made it sorry enjoyment for me, and I left the scene of merriment at an early hour. Distance, 11 miles—800.

Sunday, June 3—Concluded to remain here until tomorrow. Purchased some Mexican bread, which was very good with one exception, being sour. The Virginia and Louisiana messes started for Santa Fe today. We are anxious to travel with pack animals from Santa Fe; had an offer of three mules each for our wagons, which we accepted with the privilege of hauling our baggage to Santa Fe, fifty miles distant. "Attended church" today—Catholic, of course. The building is a large adobe finished in the most rude style of architecture, the floor covered with rough boards upon which all kneel, having no seats or benches. Thousands of swallows were flying and "twittering" about the room during service. The images and paintings were of the most ridiculous design and finish. It is a gloomy edifice throughout, and well suited to the ignorant minds that pretend to worship God after the manner of that sect. It is said the Padre defrauds these poor deluded people out of $25,000 a year. Thus it is with their "churches" throughout New Mexico. It is amusing to see the country people coming in, three or four mounted on one little mule.

Monday, June 4—Engaged today in exchanging our trunks, and other things we wished to dispose of, for pack saddles, lariats, skins, blankets, and other articles necessary for packing. I procured a "mustang pony" for my trunk. This evening we heard a shot fired in town, which was followed by a distressing cry of "O Lord!" We hurried in, and found that a cold-blooded murder had been committed. A man named Rob't Stanfield had deliberately shot Joseph Kane, captain of a pack-mule company. There were several eye witnesses to the deed. He fired a fowling-piece, at ten feet distance, two balls entering the back, and coming out just above the heart. An inquest was held over the body by twelve Mexicans who went about it rather awkwardly, this being the first case of the kind that had ever happened under the U. S. laws.[28] Mules can be purchased at this place, from $50 to $100 each. California gold has affected this country also, for before the emigration commenced they could have been bought for from $25 to $40 each.

Tuesday, June 5—Employed as yesterday. Bought a Mexican saddle for $25. We are very much annoyed by high winds, which blow the sand all over us, into our victuals, etc. This evening our new mules were brought up. They are small, but we have no doubt a pretty good bargain. A large train of wagons has come up, and encamped near us. All are anxious to pack the balance of the way. A wagon will not command a good mule, the market being already overstocked with them. The man with whom we exchanged designs moving down the Rio Grande into Old Mexico, not liking the laws of the United States.

Wednesday, June 6—Struck camp this morning, and left for Santa Fe. High winds which keep up a constant cloud of sand in the roads; the weather very cool, being in the range of the Rocky mountains. Encamped on a small rivulet, as clear as crystal and as cold as ice, near the village of Pacos [Pecos], which is now in ruins.[29] There was formerly a large church here, and it was a place of considerable note, the buildings were of adobe (the timber of cedar),[30] some of them apparently three stories high. There are a number of very large cisterns in the place, walled with

28. Captain Buford, on the trail three days later, heard of this killing and carried the news to the States; but he had the victim as "Robert Moore of Missouri." It is likely that Chamberlin, who was on the ground, had the names correctly. See Foreman, *op. cit.*, 246, note; 265. The killer was to be hanged on July 10.

29. He is here speaking of the old Indian pueblo of Pecos, from which the last inhabitants had moved away in 1837.

30. The larger timbering in all such ruins was of yellow pine.

stone, and cemented.[31] This camp furnished no grass for our animals. Distance, 25 miles—825.

Thursday, June 7—This morning, one of our mules was missing; in searching for him, I found some bunches of grass, growing beneath the walls of Pacos, which I cut with my knife, and packed it along in a blanket. I strayed several miles from the road, and did not overtake the wagons until the afternoon. I had been as far as the Rio Pacos.[32] There is a small but beautiful valley at this point on the river, with a number of ranches scattered over it; they appeared to have a good deal of land under cultivation. Met the U. S. Mail on the way to Independence; they expected to go through in from 16 to 20 days.[33] I had no letters written; Musser and Armstrong were more fortunate, and embraced the opportunity of sending news to their friends at home. Our course had been north, amongst the mountains, the ascent being very gradual with a good road. Crossed one pretty high mountain.

The first object that attracted our attention, as we neared Santa Fé, was the American "stars and stripes" floating in the breeze. A descending road into the place, which is situated in a narrow valley, on a small stream of water, surrounded by an apparently barren country, and hills of the same nature; in the distance, mountains towering to the clouds, whose snow-clad peaks gave nature a chilling appearance, although the day was very warm. The somber appearance of the town, built entirely of unburnt adobes, the scope of country, stretching for leagues to the S. W., and enveloped in haze, inspired us with rather gloomy sensations; however, we could not but feel gratified that we had reached the important point in our journey. On entering the place we noticed handbills, advising emigrants to put up at the United States hotel, for comfort, convenience, good living, etc. Of course this was "something to our minds," and we drew up before the "U. S." As for comfort and convenience, the quarters, in which about 30 of us were

---

31. What he calls cisterns were the old ceremonial kivas, or estufas, of which the roofs had fallen in.

32. Apparently Chamberlin had not recognized the "small rivulet" near Pecos ruins as the Pecos river; here he had gotten to the Mexican village or ranches farther up the valley.

33. Captain Buford left Santa Fé on June 6, escorting the mail contractor Haywood and the Chihuahua merchants Mulliken, Hister, Hagen, and Lucas; they arrived at Fort Gibson 24 days later. On June 6-7, between Santa Fé and San Miguel, he reported having met between six and seven hundred California emigrants from Fort Smith and Van Buren "who had left before the departure of the company escorted by Marcy." Foreman, *op. cit.*, 246, note.

stored with our baggage, is a small uncleansed stable, infested with fleas, bedbugs and other vermin, the stench being horrible. Distance, 25 miles—850.

Friday, June 8—Boarding $1 a day and fed upon mutton. The weather comfortable at this place, and the atmosphere very pure. Fresh meat hung out in the air will keep sound until used, or dried up. Corn is worth $3 per bushel and very scarce. We are obliged to purchase hay for our mules in small billets, packed in upon asses, at the rate of $100 per ton. Provisions are very cheap, the quartermaster of the army (it is said) lost about $30,000 during the winter, by gambling; to make up his loss, he had a sufficient amount of government stores "condemned," and was selling them to emigrants at low rates, although everything was of the best quality. We bought good American flour at $6 a hundred; bacon at 12½ cents per lb., etc. It was a lucky piece of rascality for the emigrant. All kinds of merchandise is very low, and business dull, at present. Competition has produced a stagnation in trade. There are a large number of stores and groceries in the place, certainly more than will ever make fortunes. Immense quantities of goods, that were prevented from entering Old Mexico at the close of the war, have been brought back to this place, completely glutted the market. Having read of the vast wealth and trade of Santa Fe, and the fortunes that had been made here, our curiosity ran high, but we were disappointed. The appearance and condition of the place, do not correspond with its fame. Having disposed of our wagons, and not being anxious to remain long in town, we prepared to pack our provisions and chattels, and employed a man to give us the first lesson in the art. We made our sacks out of tanned buffalo hides, and purpose putting about 200 lbs. weight upon each mule. The Mexicans are skilled in the art of packing. We employed one to go through with us, at $12 per month. We have now 22 head of horses and mules.

Saturday, June 9—Busily engaged in weighing, sacking our "traps," and making preparations to start as soon as possible. The Virginia mess have driven their stock out into the country to graze.

Sunday, June 10—Santa Fe is a very immoral place. The population is composed of Mexicans, Indians and foreigners from all parts of the world. The public square and gambling houses are crowded with idle loungers, male and female; the character of but few of the latter will bear a virtuous test. Several Fandangoes are in full operation all the while. The señorettas are of all castes and sorts,

from Indians up to pure Spanish. Some of the California-bound boys enjoy these sports, and lavish their money freely upon amusement. Many of them, however, will find this the "sticking point;" the funds of some have been exhausted in getting thus far, and being obliged to change the mode of travel and renew their stock of provisions, they cannot go on. Others have been induced to deposit what they had left in the "monte banks," which are unsafe, non-paying institutions. Some more prudent than others have gone to the gold mines in the vicinity, where they can make from one to five dollars a day, in hopes of raising enough to continue their journey. I saw a specimen of the gold obtained from these mines; it is in scales, of different sizes, though generally very small, clean and bright, and is worth $18.50 per ounce in Santa Fé. The place is some forty miles distant.[34]

This market is completely overstocked with wagons, but mules are very high, commanding from $60 to $100 per head. As at Fort Smith, rumors are afloat, that the Apache and other Indians are very hostile on our route, and the most of the emigrants are in favor of forming in large companies. One company is about employing Mackintosh, a half-breed Indian, and somewhat noted as a mountaineer; he agrees to guide them through, by the "Spanish Trail," in sixty days, for the sum of $800.[35] We have again determined not to travel with a large company, let the consequence be what it will. Saw Mr. Aubrey, a merchant of this place, the man that rode from Santa Fe to Independence, a distance of 800 miles, in 5 days and 10 hours. He is a French Canadian.[36] It appears that we are yet almost as far from California as the Fort Smith circulars made the distance through from that place. Some of the emigrants are starting north, to

---

34. The Old Placers (from 1828) and the New Placers (from 1839) were about thirty miles south of Santa Fé,—or from the Rio Grande valley at Bernalillo they lay eastward through the mountains. At the latter diggings, the town of Tuerto sprang up, and in 1845 had 22 stores. That year the yield of both districts was given as $250,000. H. H. Bancroft, *History of New Mexico and Arizona,* 340.

35. "MacKintosh" may be the Archie McIntosh who, Lieut. John G. Bourke tells us, was employed as a guide with federal troops on two campaigns against the Apaches in December 1872 and Jan.-Feb., 1873. See "Bourke on the Southwest," in N. Mex. Hist. Rev., ix (1934), 387, 390-1; 407, 418 (note). We have found no other possible clue to the man here mentioned by Chamberlin.

36. Francis Xavier Aubry (or Aubrey) had made his most famous ride the year before. Coming west in the spring of 1848, he had left along the way a number of swift saddle-mares and at Santa Fé he completed his arrangements for a rapid return to Independence. He rode against a wager that "'he could not make the trip in eight days." He did not do it "in 5 days and 10 hours" as told to Chamberlin in the streets of Santa Fé, but he did win the wager. See W. D. Wyman, "F. X. Aubry: Santa Fé Freighter, Pathfinder and Explorer," in N. Mex. Hist. Rev., vii, 1-31.

intersect the Independence route;[37] others are going by the Spanish trail, or middle route;[38] but the majority take the southern route, or those traveled by Kearney, Cook, etc.;[39] while a few have already turned their faces homeward, and more intend doing so. Money is a very essential article in a strange country, and many have made short calculations, which now puts them to great inconvenience. We have concluded to go Kearney's route, and follow his trail, or employ guides if we can get them from different points.

At 12 o'clock we were ready to lash on our packs, which occupied two hours. We then started, and after considerable difficulty with our mules, we got out of town. This is a novel mode of traveling to me, but I suppose we will become accustomed to it. Our animals were almost starved in that "poverty-stricken" place, and it is with difficulty we can get them along; they wanted to stop at every patch of grass. The road runs S. W., and the appearance of the country improves as we advance. There are some miniature valleys amongst the rolling hills in which there is a little grass. Passed several ranches, and encamped near one, on a small run of good water. Distance, 17 miles—867.

Monday, June 11—Remained in camp, for the purpose of grazing our animals. Wrote letters; I had no shade, and used the earth for a writing desk. It was a difficult task, and I was annoyed by a young Mexican boy, who wanted me to learn him to talk and write "Americano." We purchased an unbroken mule for Fernando to ride; he found it very difficult to conquer, and gave us some rare specimens of Mexican horsemanship. The first thing is to blind the animal (which is of the greatest advantage), then saddle and bridle him, putting on all the trappings, then he mounts,

37. By "the Independence route" these emigrants evidently intended to get on the trail which crossed the plains to Bent's Fort, then turned north and west by way of Fort Bridger, Great Salt Lake, Humboldt river, and so directly to the gold mines of California. See R. P. Bieber's map with his "Southwestern Trails to California in 1849," in *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, xii (1925), 344-375.

38. The Old Spanish Trail, or what Chamberlin here calls "the middle route," is the one usually associated with the famous Escalante-Domínguez expedition of 1776. The governor at Santa Fé had been ordered to open a trail through to the California coast at Monterrey. The Franciscan padres started from Santa Fé in July 1776 but got only to central Utah, where they had to turn back because of the lateness of the season. Emigrants could then head southwest across the Mohave desert to Los Angeles, or north and west by the lake and Humboldt river.

39. In some ways this was decidedly the best route for the emigrants, and it had been much used for the past twenty-five years by trappers and traders going to southern California. Another route, not so easy but still more direct, would have taken them west from Old Albuquerque by an old Indian trail to Zuñi; then southwest through the heart of "Apacheland" down the Salt river, and west down the Gila. See Bieber's map, *loc. cit.*

raises the blind, and instead of checking sinks the spurs into his side, and suffers him to run until fairly tamed down. Having no tent, we are now obliged to "bivouak" in "all out-doors," with the heavens for a counterpane, and the earth for a mattress. The sun, during the day is very hot, and the nights cool.

Tuesday, June 12—The country around our camp, abounds in the long-eared hare, which is the only game we see; we killed several; they were very fine eating. Started at 12 o'clock in a southern direction, through barren hills, and over a rough country. Found the Virginia mess encamped in a valley on a small creek; here we concluded to stop, and graze our animals until all our old company would get together. The grass is very short and poor, and the water in the stream very brackish. Distance, 15 miles—882.

*(To be continued)*

# FRIAR PERSONNEL AND MISSION CHRONOLOGY 1598-1629

*By*

FRANCE V. SCHOLES AND LANSING B. BLOOM

*(Concluded)*

## 5. FRIAR PERSONNEL, 1617-1625

IN 1616 there were apparently sixteen friars (thirteen priests and three lay brothers) remaining in New Mexico. The priests were Fray Isidro Ordóñez, commissary, Fray Andrés de Baptista, Fray Agustín de Burgos, Fray Pedro Haro de la Cueva, Fray Bernardo de Marta, Fray Alonso de Peinado, Fray Estevan de Perea, Fray Francisco Pérez Guerta, Fray Andrés Perguer, Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, Fray Juan de Salas, Fray Andrés Suárez (or Juárez), and Fray Luis Tirado. The three lay brothers were Fray Jerónimo de Pedraza, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, and Fray Pedro de Vergara.

A new group of seven friars went out to New Mexico in 1616,[65] arriving in the province toward the end of December, or early in January, 1617. After the arrival of this group Fray Estevan de Perea took office as custodian and served as local prelate until the autumn of 1621.[66]

We are able positively to identify only three of the seven friars who went out in 1616. They are Fray Bernardo de Aguirre, who served as "president" of the group during the journey to New Mexico, Fray Pedro Zambrano Ortiz, and Fray Alonso de San Juan, lay brother.[67] As we have noted in preceding sections of this paper, Fray Alonso de San Juan had already been in New Mexico during the latter part of the Oñate period and also subsequent to 1610. He had returned to New Spain, probably with Governor Peralta in

65. Accounts for the purchase of wagons and supplies furnished to this group of seven friars are found in A. G. I., Contaduría, legs. 718 and 845B.

66. See Scholes, "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," NEW MEX. HIST. REV., VII (1932), pp. 53-67, and *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650* (Albuquerque, 1937), pp. 39, 67-68.

67. All three are mentioned in the contemporary records, 1617-1621.

1614, and now came back again to New Mexico with the 1616 group. We shall see that he made other trips to and from New Spain in later years.

A fourth friar who came with the 1616 group was probably Fray Pedro de Carrascal, of whom Vetancurt tells us that he served as a missionary in New Mexico and later returned to New Spain, where he died in Mexico City on August 28, 1622.[68] As we have already noted in section 1, Bancroft lists Carrascal as one of the friars who went to New Mexico in the time of Oñate, but we doubt that this was the case, since the friar is not mentioned in any of the contemporary sources for the period prior to 1610. His name is not required to complete the lists of friars who went out in 1609 and in 1612. It also seems unlikely that he came in 1621, when another group of friar-recruits arrived, because the supply caravan of that year did not set out on its return journey to New Spain until October, 1622, several weeks later than the date of Carrascal's death in Mexico City as given by Vetancurt, and we have no evidence that any friars left New Mexico ahead of the caravan. In view of the foregoing, we conclude that Carrascal came with Aguirre's group in 1616.

Documents of the year 1617 contain references to a certain Fray Pedro de Escobar.[69] These papers do not specifically state that Escobar was then in New Mexico, but we have no mention of him in earlier records. It is possible that the statements in the 1617 documents actually refer to Fray Francisco de Escobar, a former commissary of the Franciscans in Oñate's time. It seems unlikely, however, that the friar's first name, which occurs several times, would in all cases have been incorrectly recorded as Pedro instead of Francisco. We believe therefore that Fray Pedro de Escobar was another person and that he was also a member of the 1616 group.

---

68. Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, ed. 1870-71, vol. 4, p. 293.

69. Fray Pedro de Escobar is mentioned several times in the record of the trial of Don Juan de Escarramad, in A. G. N., Provincias Internas, tomo 34, exp. 1. Copy of the trial record is also found in A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 316, ff. 175-84. For an account of the Escarramad episode, see Scholes, *Church and State*, pp. 43-49.

Testimony given in 1661 by a resident of Santa Fé indicates that many years earlier, when Fray Bernardo de Aguirre was guardian of the villa, there was another priest there named Fray Tomás de la Mar.[70] We know that Aguirre served as guardian of Santa Fé in 1617. Although we find no reference to Fray Tomás de la Mar in the earlier records, it would appear that he was also a member of the group that came in 1616.

This leaves only one of the 1616 group to account for. Unfortunately the documents and chronicles provide no data as to his identity.

In 1618 Fray Pedro de Ortega, who later served at various missions and as secretary to Fray Alonso de Benavides, accompanied Governor Juan de Eulate to New Mexico, arriving in December of that year. Fray Jerónimo de Pedraza, lay brother, was also a member of Eulate's party.[71] Pedraza had come to New Mexico in 1612 and we have listed him as one of the friars serving in New Mexico in 1616. He had apparently journeyed to New Spain in 1617, and returned with Eulate's party the following year.

Thus we have a total of twenty-four friars who served in New Mexico during the period from 1616-1617 to the autumn of 1621, when another group arrived. The twenty-four included the sixteen who were in the province in 1616, the seven who went out in that year, and Fray Pedro de Ortega, who accompanied Eulate in 1618.

In 1620 the custodian, Fray Estevan de Perea, sent Fray Alonso de San Juan to Mexico with reports for the viceroy and the superior prelates of the Franciscan Order. On the basis of these reports the authorities in New Spain sent out another group of friars in 1621 and also provided

---

70. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 593, exp. 1, f. 94.

71. Both Ortega and Pedraza refer to events of the journey to New Mexico with Eulate in testimony in 1621 and 1626. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 271*v*, 288-88*v*. They do not specify the year in which the journey was made, but we know from other sources that Eulate came in 1618 and took office as governor on December 23. A. G. I., Contaduría, leg. 723; L. B. Bloom, "The Governors of New Mexico," NEW MEX. HIST. REV., X (1935), p. 154; Scholes, *Church and State*, p. 70. Ortega always signed his name "Hortega," but we have dropped the silent initial.

supplies for fourteen others serving in the province.[72] The fourteen in New Mexico can be identified as follows: Perea, the custodian, Aguirre, Baptista, Burgos, Haro de la Cueva, Ortega, Pedraza (lay brother), Peinado, Quirós, Salas, San Buenaventura (lay brother), Suárez, Vergara (lay brother), and Zambrano Ortiz.[73] Counting this group and Fray Alonso de San Juan, who carried the reports to Mexico City, we have a total of fifteen, leaving nine others to be accounted for. Of the latter, five (Ordóñez, Pérez Guerta, Perguer, Tirado, and Marta) had come to New Mexico prior to 1616, and four (Carrascal, Pedro de Escobar, de la Mar, and one unidentified friar) were members of the group that went out to the province in that year.

Fray Isidro Ordóñez, the former commissary of the Franciscans, and Fray Francisco Pérez Guerta left the province in the autumn of 1617, when the supply caravan that went out in the preceding year returned to Mexico.[74] The documents of 1617 *et seq.* contain no reference to Fray Andrés Perguer and Fray Luis Tirado, so we infer that they left New Mexico or died there prior to 1620. Rosa Figueroa states that Fray Bernardo de Marta died in New Mexico in 1632. Vetancurt gives the year as 1635.[75] We find no mention of Marta, however, in any of the contemporary sources for the period from 1617 to the early 1630's, and his name is not required to make up the list of fourteen friars in New Mexico for whom provision was made in the dispatch of supplies sent in 1621. We surmise therefore that his death occurred prior to 1620, when Fray Alonso de San Juan took the reports to New Spain on the basis of which the 1621 dispatch was made.

Of the four to account for from the group that went out

72. Accounts for purchase of supplies for the 1621 group and for the fourteen remaining in New Mexico are found in A. G. I., Contaduría, legs. 723, 845B. In a letter to the king, dated May 27, 1620, the viceroy reported that there were sixteen friars serving in New Mexico. A. G. I., México, leg. 29. This statement was probably based on earlier reports received before those brought by Fray Alonso de San Juan.

73. All of these friars are mentioned in the record sfor the early 1620's. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, and tomo 486, ff. 45-51; A. G. N., Civil, tomo 77, exp. 14.

74. Scholes, *Church and State*, p. 42.

75. Rosa Figueroa, *Bezerro General*, p. 126; Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 328.

in 1616, we may assume that Fray Pedro de Carrascal returned to Mexico not later than 1620. Since we have no other data concerning Escobar and de la Mar, we can only conclude that they and the unidentified friar had died before 1620, or that they had returned to New Spain sometime between 1617 and 1620.

The treasury accounts list the names of six friars who went to New Mexico with the supply caravan of 1621. They were Fray Miguel de Chavarría, Fray Martín de Arvide, Fray Francisco Fonte (or Fonsi), Fray Ascensio de Zárate, Fray Jerónimo de Zárate Salmarón, and the lay brother, Fray Alonso de San Juan, mentioned above, who now returned again to the province.[76] This group of six and the fourteen already in New Mexico make a total of twenty friars in the province in the autumn of 1621 when the caravan arrived.[77]

Fray Miguel de Chavarría took office as the second custodian, succeeding Perea, on October 3, 1621.[78] He remained in New Mexico only a year, however, for he returned to New Spain in the autumn of 1622. Prior to his departure Fray Ascensio de Zárate was named vice-custodian, and the latter had charge of the missions until the arrival of Fray Alonso de Benavides in December, 1625.[79]

Fray Pedro de Vergara (lay brother) accompanied Chavarría to Mexico in the autumn of 1622.[80] In the following year others also left for New Spain,[81] and by a process of elimination we find that they were Fray Bernardo de Aguirre and Fray Agustín de Burgos. At the same time

76. A. G. I., Contaduría, leg. 845B

77. A report filed by the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel on July 21, 1622, states that there were twenty-four friars (eighteen priests and six lay brothers) in New Mexico at that time. A.G.I., México, leg. 2547. We believe, however, that this report is incorrect, since the treasury records of the preceding year clearly indicate that the 1621 caravan provided for fourteen friars in the province and six others who went out at that time.

78. Petition of Fray Estevan de Perea to Chavarría, August 26, 1622. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 486, f. 46.

79. Scholes, "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," pp. 64-69, and *Church and State*, pp. 74-84, *passim*.

80. Letter of Fray Pedro Zambrano, October 5, 1622. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 486, f. 49.

81. Perea to the Holy Office, Sandía, August 14, 1623. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 345, f. 470.

reports were sent to the authorities in Mexico City on the basis of which the next dispatch of supplies was made.

The treasury accounts indicate that this caravan, which went out in 1625, took supplies for fourteen friars remaining in New Mexico.[82] These fourteen can be positively identified as follows: Zárate, the vice-custodian, Arvide, Baptista, Fonte, Haro de la Cueva, Ortega, Pedraza (lay brother), Perea, Quirós, Salas, San Juan (lay brother), Suárez, Zambrano Ortiz, and Zárate Salmerón.[83] Counting this group of fourteen and the four (Chavarría, Vergara, Aguirre, and Burgos) who left in 1622 and 1623, we have only two of the twenty in New Mexico in the autumn of 1621 to account for, viz., Peinado and San Buenaventura.

We have a letter of Fray Alonso de Peinado, dated at Chililí on October 4, 1622,[84] but he is not mentioned in later documents. Reference is made to Fray Juan de San Buenaventura (lay brother, who had come to New Mexico with Oñate in 1598) in a document of August 26, 1622, but we have no reference to him thereafter.[85] We conclude therefore that both Peinado and San Buenaventura died sometime prior to the following summer (1623), when the reports were sent to Mexico City on the basis of which the 1625 dispatch of supplies was made.

## 6. Mission Chronology, 1617-1625

During the nine years from the beginning of 1617 to the end of 1625 the Franciscans achieved considerable success in their missionary efforts, despite the controversies with Governors Ceballos and Eulate which characterized the history of this period. The friars carried forward the work already started among the Tewa, Tano, Keres, and the Río Grande and Manzano Tiwa, and the mission area was expanded to include Pecos, Picurís, Taos, the Jémez towns, and the Tompiro pueblo of Abó.

82. Accounts for the 1625 caravan are found in A. G. I., Contaduría, leg. 726.

83. All of these friars are mentioned in documents of 1626. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316.

84. A. G. N., Civil, tomo 77, exp. 14.

85. Petition of Fray Estevan de Perea to Chavarría, August 26, 1622. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 486, f. 46.

In the Tewa area the convents of San Ildefonso and Nambé continued to serve as the mission centers. A third convent (Santa Clara) was not established until the time of Benavides. The Río Grande Tiwa were administered, as before, from Sandía and Isleta;[86] and Chililí, where Peinado remained in charge until his death sometime in 1622 or 1623, continued to be the center of activity for the Tiwa towns east of the Manzano range. The names of Peinado's immediate successors at Chililí are not known.[87] It may be assumed that work was also carried on at Tajique and Cuarac during the period under discussion, but the earliest reference to another convent (Cuarac) occurs in the documents of Benavides' time.

As stated in section 4, two convents were established at Galisteo and San Lázaro in the Tano area between 1610 and 1613. The San Lázaro foundation was not permanent, and Galisteo became the chief center of missionary activity among the Tano. Fray Pedro de Ortega, who arrived in New Mexico in December, 1618, served at Galisteo in the following year (1619), and perhaps for part or all of 1620, until he was assigned to Pecos.[88] His successor was Fray Pedro Zambrano Ortiz, who is first recorded as guardian of Galisteo in 1621. Zambrano remained in charge of the mission until at least 1632.[89]

The San Lázaro convent was apparently abandoned sometime between 1614 and 1621. Difficulties in maintaining mission discipline and the persistence of native religion appear to have been contributing factors. In 1621 San Lázaro was administered from Galisteo, and in the later seventeenth

86. A convent (Santa Ana) at Alameda is first mentioned in 1635, when Fray Justo de Miranda was guardian. The Alameda church was not finished, however, until the time of Governor Peñalosa (1661-64). A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 380, f. 253, and tomo 507, f. 325. Apparently a separate convent was never established at Puaráy.

87. Fray Francisco de Salazar served at Chililí in 1634 and 1636, Fray Fernando de Velasco, *c.* 1660, and Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, 1671-72.

88. References to Ortega's services at Galisteo are found in A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim.*

89. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, f. 282*v*, and tomo 304, f. 190. Other friars who served at Galisteo prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Antonio de Aranda (1640), Fray Cristóbal de Velasco (1659), Fray Nicolás del Villar (1661), Fray Antonio de Ibargaray (1663-65), Fray Pedro de Villegas (1665), Fray Juan Bernal (1672), and Fray Juan Domingo de Vera (1680).

century it was a *visita* of either Galisteo or San Marcos.[90]

The first reference to a mission at San Cristóbal occurs in documents of 1621, although missionary work there was apparently started before that time. The lay brother, Fray Pedro de Vergara, was "president" of the mission in 1621, serving under the direction of Fray Pedro Zambrano Ortiz, stationed at Galisteo. The convent of San Cristóbal is first mentioned in a document of 1626, but the earliest recorded guardian was Fray Alonso de Estremera, who was serving at San Cristóbal in 1628.[91] But the San Cristóbal convent, like that at San Lázaro, was not permanent, and in later years San Cristóbal was a *visita* of Galisteo.

In the Benavides Memorials of 1630 and 1634 Galisteo is designated as the seat of the only convent in the Tano area. Subsequently another permanent convent was established at San Marcos, of which Fray Agustín de Cuellar, who served there in 1638-1640, is the first recorded guardian.[92] Henceforth this convent and the one at Galisteo served as the two mission centers for the Tano.

Prior to 1617 two convents, at Sia and Santo Domingo, had been founded in the Keres area. (See sections 2 and 4.) Santa Ana was served from Sia, and we have no evidence that it ever became the seat of a convent. For several years all of the Keres pueblos along the Río Grande were administered from Santo Domingo, but by 1621 a separate convent was established at San Felipe.[93] Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, who had earlier served at Sia and Santo Domingo, was guardian in 1621, and he apparently spent most of his time there until his death in 1643.[94]

---

90. Numerous references to the satuation at San Lázaro in 1621 *et ante* are recorded in A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim*.

91. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim*, and tomo 363.

92. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 385, exp. 15; A. G. I., Patronato, leg. 244, ramo 7. Other friars who served at San Marcos prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Diego de Santander (1662), Fray Bernardo López de Covarrubias (1663-64), Fray Pedro de Villegas (1665), Fray Tomás de Torres (1668-69), Fray Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana (1672), and Fray Manuel Tinoco (1680).

93. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, f. 290*v*.

94. Other friars who served at San Felipe prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Juan Suárez (or Juárez), who succeeded Quirós in 1643, and Fray Juan de Plasencia (1662).

Benavides records only three convents (evidently Sia, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe) for the Keres areas in 1630 and 1634. By 1637, however, Cochití had its own convent, with Fray Justo de Miranda as guardian. In later years both San Felipe and Cochití were frequently *visitas* of Santo Domingo, indicating that these missions often lacked resident friars.

A permanent mission at Pecos was founded as early as 1619, when Fray Pedro Zambrano Ortiz was guardian. It is quite possible that Zambrano was assigned to Pecos soon after his arrival in New Mexico in the winter of 1616-1617, but this is only a surmise. In the autumn of 1621, Fray Pedro de Ortega, who had previously served at Galisteo, was in charge at Pecos, having apparently changed places with Zambrano.[96] By October, 1622, Ortega had been replaced by Fray Andrés Suárez (or Juárez), who remained at Pecos until at least 1633.[97]

Benavides gives Suárez chief credit for building the Pecos church and convent,[98] but we have evidence that the church was under construction as early as 1621, when Ortega was in charge.[99] In a letter to the viceroy, dated October 2, 1622, Suárez expressed the hope that the church would be finished in the following year, and he asked the viceroy to send a *retablo* of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, the advocation of the mission, and a statue of the child Jesus to place above the main altar.[100]

San Felipe and Pecos were apparently the only new convents founded before the arrival of Custodian Chavarría and five other friars in the autumn of 1621. Subsequently work was started at Picurís, Taos, in the Jémez area, and at Abó.

95. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 369, exp. 14.

96. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim*.

97. A. G. N., Civil, tomo 77, exp. 14, and Inquisición, tomo 380, exp. 2. Other friars who served at Pecos prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Domingo del Espíritu Santo (1635), Fray Antonio de Ybargaray (1636), Fray Juan González (1661), Fray Nicolás Enríquez (1666), Fray Juan Bernal (1670), Fray Luís de Morales (1672), and Fray Francisco de Velasco (1680).

98. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634).

99. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356.

100. A. G. N., Civil, tomo 77, exp. 14.

The founder of Picurís mission was Fray Martín de Arvide, who arrived with Chavarría in the autumn of 1621 and was evidently assigned to Picurís soon thereafter. Benavides gives a brief account of Arvide's labors at the new mission and of the ill-treatment he received at the hands of some of the Indians. Native opposition finally forced him to abandon the mission, and in 1625 he was stationed at Santo Domingo. Missionary work was not resumed at Picurís until 1628 (see section 8).[101]

Benavides states that Fray Pedro de Ortega was the founder of Taos mission. Since we know that Ortega was at Pecos in September, 1621, prior to Chavarría's arrival, and we have references to missionary activity at Taos as of 1622, we infer that Ortega was transferred from Pecos to Taos in the latter part of 1621 or early in 1622. At Taos, as at Picurís, considerable native opposition was encountered. After the arrival of Benavides in December, 1625, Ortega was appointed notary of the Holy Office and was assigned to the Santa Fé convent. Mission work at Taos was resumed in 1627, when one of the friars who accompanied Benavides took charge (see section 8).[102]

In separate articles previously published the authors of the present paper have traced the early history of the Jémez missions.[103] The first mission was founded at San José de Guisewa by Fray Jerónimo de Zárate Salmerón in the autumn of 1621, or during the winter of 1621-1622. Soon thereafter Salmerón established a second mission known as the "pueblo de la Congregación" and later as San Diego de la Congregación. This foundation was apparently located at or near the present Jémez pueblo. Local disturbances resulted in the abandonment of this "congregation" pueblo in 1623 and the scattering of its population. What effect this had on the mission at San José is not clear, but it would appear that the latter was not abandoned, since a

101. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634).

102. *Ibid.*, and A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim*.

103. L. B. Bloom and L. B. Mitchell, "The Chapter Elections in 1672," NEW MEX. HIST. REV., XIII (1938), pp. 85-119; Scholes, "Notes on the Jémez missions in the seventeenth century," *El Palacio*, XLIV (1938), pp. 61-71, 93-102.

document of 1626 refers to Salmerón as "guardian of the convent of San José of the Jémez." For later developments at Jémez in the time of Benavides, see section 8.

Vetancurt tells us that Fray Francisco de Acevedo, who came to New Mexico in 1629, built the church at Abó, and also two smaller ones at Tenabó and Tabirá.[104] We now have evidence, however, that missionary work had been in progress at Abó for several years prior to the arrival of Acevedo. In a letter written from Chililí on October 4, 1622, Fray Alonso de Peinado refers to the "nations" that had recently been reduced to faith and obedience, "como son la nación de los Taos, de los Pecos, y la de los Emes, y los del pueblo de guerra de Abo y Penabo [Tenabo?]."[105] This is a clear indication that the Abó mission dates from at least 1622. The next reference to it is recorded in a document, dated January, 1626, in which we learn that Fray Francisco Fonte, a member of the group of friars who accompanied Chavarría in 1621, was "guardian of Abó."[106] It is possible that the Abó convent had been established as early as 1622, when Peinado wrote his letter, or its erection may have been voted at a chapter meeting held after the arrival of Benavides in December, 1625. In any case, we have definite proof that the convent was founded prior to the arrival of Acevedo in 1629.

Perea's *Relaciones* record that Acevedo was one of a group of friars assigned to the Piro-Tompiro pueblos in 1629, and there is evidence that Acevedo served in the Tompiro area for some thirty years thereafter.[107] It would appear, however, that he did not become guardian of Abó until several years subsequent to 1629, for Fray Juan del Campo is recorded as guardian in 1634.[108] But in view of the fact that Acevedo spent so many years among the Tompiro, Vetancurt is undoubtedly justified in stressing his

---

104. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 260.
105. A. G. N., Civil, tomo 77, exp. 14.
106. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 260*v.*, 263*v.*
107. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, vol. 3, pp. 146, 147, 159.
108. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 380, exp. 2.

services, and it may well be true that Acevedo deserves chief credit for the construction of the Abó church and convent.[109]

### 7. Friar Personnel, 1626-1629

In section 5 we have listed fourteen friars remaining in New Mexico for whom supplies were sent in the caravan that arrived in the province toward the end of December, 1625. With the caravan came twelve others, making a total of twenty-six in New Mexico at the beginning of 1626.

Of the twelve who came with the caravan we can identify only seven, as follows: Fray Alonso de Benavides, the new custodian, Fray Tomás de Carrasco, Fray Martín del Espíritu Santo, Fray Alonso de Estremera, Fray Juan Gutiérrez de la Chica, Fray Andrés de Zea, and Fray Pedro de Vergara, who had journeyed to Mexico City in 1622 and now returned to the province.[110] We have no clear evidence as to the identity of any of the other five.

The supply wagons set out on the return journey to Mexico in the autumn of 1626. In 1627-1628 preparations were made for the next caravan, which left Mexico in September, 1628, and arrived in New Mexico in the spring of the following year (1629). This dispatch brought supplies for twenty friars in the province, evidently the number remaining there when the preceding caravan set out for New Spain in the autumn of 1626.[111]

On the basis of contemporary data, we find that eleven of these were friars already in New Mexico in 1625; the other nine were evidently members of the group that arrived in December of that year. The first eleven included Arvide, Ascensio de Zárate, Baptista, Fonte, Haro de la Cueva, Ortega, Pedraza (lay brother), Quirós, Salas, Suárez, and Zambrano Ortiz. The group of nine included Benavides, Carrasco, Martín del Espíritu Santo, Estremera, Gutiérrez

109. Other friars who served at Abó before the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Antonio de Aguado (1659), Fray Joseph de Paredes (1662), Fray Gabriel de Torija (1668), Fray Nicolás de Villar (1669), and Fray Ildefonso Gil de Avila (1672).

110. Carrasco, Espíritu Santo, and Zea are mentioned in Benavides' *Memorial* of 1634. References to the others occur in contemporary sources, 1626 *et seq.*

111. Accounts for purchase of supplies for this caravan are found in A. G. I., Contaduría, leg. 728, 729, 845A.

de la Chica, Vergara (lay brother), Zea, and two unidentified friars.

In 1627 Perea was re-elected as custodian, to succeed Benavides. He returned to New Mexico with the 1629 caravan, bringing with him a group of thirty friars, nine of whom came at the expense of the Franciscan Order.[112] The names of twenty are recorded in Perea's *Relaciones*, as follows: (1) Fray Francisco de Acevedo, (2) Fray Antonio de Arteaga, (3) Fray Cristóbal de la Concepción (lay brother), (4) Fray Francisco de la Concepción, (5) Fray Agustín de Cuellar, (6) Fray Roque de Figueredo, (7) Fray Diego de la Fuente, (8) Fray Martín González,[113] (9) Fray Andrés Gutiérrez, (10) Fray Francisco de Letrado, (11) Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios (lay brother), (12) Fray Tomás Manso, (13) Fray Francisco Muñoz, (14) Fray Francisco de Porras, (15) Fray Juan Ramírez, (16) Fray Bartolomé Romero, (17) Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura (lay brother), (18) Fray Tomás de San Diego, (19) Fray García de San Francisco (lay brother), [114] and (20) Fray Diego de San Lucas (lay brother). On the basis of other sources we can identify six others: (21) Fray Diego López, (22) Fray Alonso de San Juan (lay brother), again returning to New Mexico, (23) Fray Pedro de Santana, (24) Fray Luis Suárez, (25) Fray Alonso de Yáñez (lay brother), and (26) Fray Garcia de Zúñiga (lay brother). The remaining four cannot be identified.

Fray Martín González died en route,[115] and Fray Luis Suárez died four days after the caravan arrived.[116] In the autumn of 1629 three friars, Fray Alonso de Benavides, Fray Francisco Muñoz, and Fray García de Zúñiga, returned

---

112. L. B. Bloom, "Fray Estevan de Perea's *Relación*," NEW MEX. HIST. REV., VIII (1933), p. 224.

113. In a marginal note to section 38 of Benavides' *Memorial* of 1634, the name is given as Fray Bartolomé Gonzales.

114. Vetancurt (*op. cit.*, col. 4, pp. 24-25) gives this friar's name as García de San Francisco y Zúñiga. The chronicler evidently confused two friars, both of them lay brothers, named García de San Francisco and García de Zúñiga. The latter was much older than García de San Francisco.

115. Bloom, "Fray Estevan de Perea's *Relación*," p. 225.

116. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634), section 38, and marginal note.

to New Spain.[117] Deducting these five, we have a total of forty-six friars in service at the end of 1629. This figure is confirmed by a report made by Fray Tomás Manso, procurador general of the custody, during the negotiations which resulted in the formulation of the famous supply service contract of 1631. Thirty-five were priests, and eleven were lay brothers.[118]

The friars in service at the end of 1629 were:

(1) Fray Francisco de Acevedo. Came in 1629.
(2) Fray Antonio de Arteaga. Came in 1629.
(3) Fray Martín de Arvide. Came in 1621.
(4) Fray Andrés de Baptista. Came in 1609.
(5) Fray Tomás de Carrasco. Came in 1625.
(6) Fray Cristóbal de la Concepción (lay brother). Came in 1629.
(7) Fray Francisco de la Concepción. Came in 1629.
(8) Fray Agustín de Cuellar. Came in 1629.
(9) Fray Martín del Espíritu Santo. Came in 1625.
(10) Fray Alonso de Estremera. Came in 1625.
(11) Fray Roque de Figueredo. Came in 1629.
(12) Fray Francisco Fonte. Came in 1621.
(13) Fray Diego de la Fuente. Came in 1629.
(14) Fray Andrés Gutiérrez. Came in 1629.
(15) Fray Juan Gutiérrez de la Chica. Came in 1625.
(16) Fray Pedro Haro de la Cueva. Came in 1612.
(17) Fray Francisco de Letrado. Came in 1629.
(18) Fray Diego López. Came in 1629.
(19) Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios (lay brother). Came in 1629.
(20) Fray Tomás Manso, procurador general. Came in 1629. Manso also returned to New Spain with the caravan in the autumn of 1629, but because of his position as director of the supply service, he was considered as one of the friars resident in the province.

117. Zúñiga gave testimony in Mexico City in 1630. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 366, ff. 403*v*-404. In December, 1630, Muñoz gave testimony at Hecelchakan in Yucatan and testified that he had left New Mexico in the preceding year. *Proceso . . . contra Diego de Vera Perdomo*, A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 495, ff. 89-103.

118. Scholes, "The supply service of the New Mexico missions in the seventeenth century," p. 97.

(21) Fray Pedro de Ortega. Came in 1618.

(22) Fray Jerónimo de Pedraza (lay brother). Came in 1612.

(23) Fray Estevan de Perea, custodian. First came in 1609.

(24) Fray Francisco de Porras. Came in 1629.

(25) Fray Cristóbal de Quirós. Came in 1609.

(26) Fray Juan Ramírez. Came in 1629.

(27) Fray Bartolomé Romero. Came in 1629.

(28) Fray Juan de Salas. Came in 1612.

(29) Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura (lay brother). Came in 1629.

(30) Fray Tomás de San Diego. Came in 1629.

(31) Fray García de San Francisco (lay brother). Came in 1629.

(32) Fray Alonso de San Juan (lay brother). First came in 1603 or 1605.

(33) Fray Diego de San Lucas (lay brother). Came in 1629.

(34) Fray Pedro de Santana. Came in 1629.

(35) Fray Andrés Suárez (or Juárez). Came in 1609.

(36) Fray Pedro de Vergara (lay brother). First came in 1598.

(37) Fray Alonso de Yáñez (lay brother). Came in 1629.

(38) Fray Pedro Zambrano Ortiz. Came in 1616.

(39) Fray Ascensio de Zárate. Came in 1621.

(40) Fray Andrés de Zea. Came in 1625.

(41-46) Six unidentified friars, of whom two came in 1625 and four in 1629. Two were evidently lay brothers, since only nine are included in the forty names listed above.

## 8. Missionary Progress, 1626-1629

During the period from 1626 to 1629 additional convents were founded in the Tewa, Manzano Tiwa, and Tompiro areas, work was resumed at Picurís and Taos, and the mission in the Jémez "pueblo de la Congregación" was re-established. New missions were also founded in the Piro

district, at Acoma, and among the Zuñi and Hopi pueblos. By the end of 1629 the Franciscans were engaged in missionary effort in all parts of the Pueblo country.

In the Tewa area Benavides established a third convent at Santa Clara. This foundation probably dates from *ca.* 1628, since we have evidence that the custodian was in residence at Santa Clara during part of the summer of that year.[119] In the 1630 *Memorial* Benavides refers to three convents in the Tewa district, but in the revised edition of 1634 he speaks of San Ildefonso and three others.[120] We infer therefore that a fourth convent, undoubtedly San Juan, had been established sometime after Benavides left New Mexico in 1629 and by the summer of 1633. If the fourth convent had been founded at a later date, Benavides could not have received the report in time to incorporate the information in the revised *Memorial,* which was presented to Pope Urban VIII on February 12, 1634.[121].

The convent of Chililí is the only one recorded for the Manzano Tiwa district prior to 1626. A document of 1628 states that Fray Juan Gutiérrez de la Chica, who came with Benavides, was then "guardian of the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción of the pueblo of Querac [Cuarac]."[122] We assume therefore that this second friar-house was established under Benavides' auspices sometime between 1626 and 1628. In the 1630's Fray Estevan de Perea, after serving his second term as custodian, spent several years at Cuarac. Vetancurt states that it was he who converted the pueblo,[123] but in view of the foregoing evidence the chronicler's statement may be interpreted as meaning that Perea completed the work of indoctrination carried on in preceding years by Fray Juan Gutiérrez de la Chica.[124]

119. Benavides, acting as commissary of the Holy Office, received the testimony of several witnesses at Santa Clara on July 21 and 26, 1628. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 363. Fray Antonio Pérez was guardian in 1638.

120. Benavides, *Memorial* (Ayer ed.), p. 24, and *Memorial* (1634), setion 33.

121. Fray Miguel de Guevara was guardian of San Juan in 1665, Fray Sebastián de Contreras in 1666, and Fray Felipe Montes in 1672.

122. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 363.

123. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 324.

124. Other friars who served at Cuarac prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Juan de Salas (early 1640's), Fray Jerónimo de la Llana (1659), Fray Nicolás de Freitas (1660), Fray Francisco de Salazar (1668), and Fray Diego de Parraga (1672).

In the *Memorial* of 1630, as in the revised edition of 1634, Benavides refers to six convents and churches among the "Tompira Nation," in which he evidently includes the Manzano Tiwa.[125] This argues in favor of the founding of a convent at Tajique as early as 1629, although the earliest mention of a guardian of Tajique occurs in a document of 1635, when Fray Francisco de la Concepción was in charge of the mission.[126]

As noted in section 6, the Abó convent was established as early as 1626, and it evidently became the center for missionary work at other Tompiro pueblos, such as Tenabó and Tabirá. Another Tompiro town, also located in the Salinas district, was called "Xumanas." Benavides tells us that it was so named, "because this nation often comes there to trade and barter." The name may also be derived from the fact that the village was probably one of the pueblos of Jumanos-Rayados mentioned in the Oñate documents. On a visit to the town in 1629, Benavides preached to the natives and dedicated the incipient mission to San Isidro, archbishop of Seville. Apparently nothing more was done until after the arrival of the 1629 caravan, when Fray Francisco de Letrado, member of a group assigned to the Piro-Tompiro area, took charge. Benavides states that Letrado "converted and baptized the pueblo and founded there a convent and a fine church." It is evident, however, that Letrado did not remain there more than a year or two, since we know that he was killed at Hawikúh in 1632. The convent of San Isidro was apparently abandoned, and for many years the pueblo was administered from Abó. In 1659-1660 a resident mission was re-established, this time named San Buenaventura de las Humanas, and Fray Diego de Santander, who was guardian at this time, started the construction of a new church and convent. Kubler first identified this mission pueblo as the Gran Quivira ruin, also known as Tabirá.

125. Benavides, *Memorial* (Ayer ed.), p. 20, and *Memorial* (1634), section 29.

126. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 380, exp. 2. Other friars who served at Tajique prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Jerónimo de la Llana (1636), Fray Diego de Parraga (1660), Fray Juan Ramírez (1660), Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena (1671-72), and Fray Sebastián de Aliri (1672).

But in view of the fact that in the documents of the 1660's Tabirá is recorded as a *visita* of Las Humanas, the former was obviously a separate site.[127]

Work at the Picurís mission, founded in 1621 or 1622 by Fray Martín de Arvide and subsequently abandoned, was resumed in 1628, so Benavides tells us, by Fray Andrés de Zea. It is to Fray Ascensio de Zárate, however, that Benavides gives chief credit for the "conversion and general baptism of that indomitable pueblo." Zárate's services probably date from about 1629 to 1632. Vetancurt states that in the latter year Zárate "passed to the Lord . . . in the convent of San Lorenzo de los Picuries."[128]

In 1627 Fray Tomás de Carrasco, who had accompanied Benavides to New Mexico in 1625, took charge of the Taos mission started five or six years earlier by Fray Pedro de Ortega. According to Benavides, Carrasco carried on the work "with great zeal and courage," and built a "good church with fine architecture."[129] Carrasco is not mentioned in other contemporary records, so we cannot fix the term of his service at Taos. Vetancurt tells us that Fray Pedro de Miranda was martyred at Taos in 1631, but this is evidently an error for 1639.[130] Fray Nicolás de Hidalgo was guardian in 1638.[131]

Another event of importance during the period of Benavides' tenure as custodian was the refounding of the "congregation" mission and pueblo in the Jémez area, known henceforth as San Diego de la Congregación, or simply as San Diego de los Jémez. The missionary who carried out this work was Fray Martín de Arvide, who had served in

---

127. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634), section 29; G. Kubler, "Gran Quivira-Humanas," NEW MEX. HIST. REV., XIV (1939), pp. 418-21. F. V. Scholes and H. P. Mera, *Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem* (Washington, 1940), pp. 276-85.

128. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634), section 35; Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 398. Other friars who served at Picurís prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Juan de Vidania (1637), Fray Francisco Muñoz (1660), Fray Juan Lobato (1661), Fray Antonio de Sierra (1671-72), and Fray Matías de Rendón (1680).

129. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634), section 36.

130. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 414; Scholes, *Church and State*, p. 137.

131. Other friars who served at Taos prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Salvador de Guerra (1659-60), Fray Felipe Rodríguez (1660), Fray Luis Martínez (1661), Fray Andrés Durán (1663), Fray Antonio de Mora (1672-80).

earlier years at Picurís. There is some question, however, as to the date of Arvide's services in the Jémez area.

In Benavides' revised *Memorial* of 1634 we learn that Arvide served in both the Jémez and Piro districts during the custodian's term of office. The problem is to fix the chronology, and the difficulty arises from the fact that Benavides' narrative does not make the sequence of events entirely clear. In section 34 on "The Hemes Nation" the date for the beginning of Arvide's labors there appears to be 1626, although the final "6" might be read as an "8." In section 25 on the "Nation of the Piros" Benavides describes his own missionary activities among the Piro, beginning in 1626, and states that after the work was well started (he seems to imply a period of about a year and a half) he turned it over to Arvide to carry on. Thus it would appear, on the basis of the foregoing evidence, that Arvide served first at Jémez in 1626, and that he later took charge of the Piro missions, possibly toward the end of 1627 or in 1628.

But when we turn to section 42 of the revised *Memorial*, in which Benavides gives a sketch of Arvide's life, we find a different story. Here Benavides, after relating Arvide's services at Picurís, states that he placed him in charge of the missionary program in the Piro area which the custodian had started. And following this passage we read: "Afterwards I sent him to the Hemes nation," etc. Benavides then tells how Arvide reassembled the Indians in a pueblo of more than 300 houses, viz., San Diego de la Congregación, and that having completed the conversion of the Jémez, Arvide set out on the journey to the Zipia country, during which he was killed on February 27, 1632.

We are of the opinion, therefore, that the "1626" date in the Jémez section of the revised *Memorial* should be read as 1628, and that Arvide's work in the Jémez area started in the latter year, after a period of service among the Piro. The only other alternative would be to assume that Arvide was actually at Jémez in 1626, that he went from there to the Piro area, and that he later returned to Jémez sometime before 1632, when he suffered martyrdom while en route to

the Zipia country. But there is nothing in Benavides' sketch of the friar's life to substantiate such inferences. Moreover, in our account of the Piro conversions, we shall cite other evidence in favor of dating Arvide's Piro services in 1626 or 1627.

At the end of Benavides' term of office in 1629, there were two convents in the Jémez area, San José de Giusewa and San Diego de la Congregación. Within the succeeding decade, however, the convent of San José was apparently abandoned, and San Diego became the center of missionary activity among the Jémez during the remainder of the period prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.[132]

We turn now to the story of early missionary enterprise among the Río Grande Piro. Benavides claims for himself the chief credit for the conversion of this group, and although he unduly stresses his own role, it is undoubtedly true that he took an active part in the work and that it was carried on at first under his direction and supervision. In section 25 of the revised *Memorial* we are told that the custodian, beginning in 1626, made as many as nine journeys from his residence as prelate (Santo Domingo) to the Piro area, and that within less than a year and a half "they were all converted through the virtue of the divine word preached by a minister as unworthy as I."[133] And having established the conversion on a firm basis, he then "handed it over" to Fray Martín de Arvide, who continued the work and founded a convent and church. This would imply that Arvide took charge sometime during the second half of 1627, or possibly as late as 1628.

The account in Benavides' sketch of Arvide's life is less definite as to the time when Arvide took charge. Here the custodian merely relates that he started the conversions,

---

132. Scholes, "Notes on the Jémez missions in the seventeenth century," pp. 93-98. Friars who served at Jémez prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Diego de San Lucas (1639), Fray Juan del Campo (1640), Fray Alonso de Posada (1656), Fray Miguel Sacristán (1661), Fray Salvador de Guerra (1661 and for several years thereafter), Fray Tomás de Alvarado (1669), Fray Tomás de la Torre (1672), Fray Francisco Muñoz (1680), Fray Juan de Jesús (1680).

133. This passage and one or two others are quoted from the edition of the 1634 *Memorial* now in press.

but was unable to continue because of his duties as prelate. Consequently he entrusted the work to Arvide, who baptized and converted many Indians, and, as stated above, founded a church and convent.

If we turn to other evidence, recorded in documents of 1626-1628, we find that Benavides made his first missionary journey to the Piro area toward the end of June, 1626, and that he remained about a month, returning to the northern pueblos by the end of July. The document in which this journey is mentioned states that he had gone "to convert the pueblo of Senecu." We also learn that in the autumn of 1626 he accompanied the returning supply caravan as far as Senecú, and that he made another journey to the Piro country in October, 1627.[134] This evidence confirms Benavides' own statement that his missionary activity among the Piro extended over a period of something less than a year and a half.

But the most valuable data recorded in these early documents refer to the Socorro convent. On August 3, 1626, a soldier gave testimony before Benavides in which he told about making a journey to the Socorro area and mentioned "the convent and oratory in which the friars reside." We also have a document dated at "the convent of Nuestra Señora del Socorro" on October 22, 1627.[135] Thus we find that a convent, with friars in residence, had been established as early as the summer of 1626, and we may assume that one or more were stationed there during the intervals between Benavides' visits. This means that although the custodian may have taken the lead in initiating the missionary program among the Piro and apparently exercised general supervision by means of frequent visits, the day-to-day work was carried on by resident friars.

Unfortunately the documents do not record the names of the friars stationed at Socorro in 1626-1627. We strongly suspect, however, that Arvide was one of them, and that the convent and church he is said to have founded were located

134. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim.*

135. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, f. 296, and tomo 363.

there. In short, we are of the opinion that after one or more visits to the Piro, during which he personally assisted in starting the work of conversion and baptism, Benavides turned the work over to Arvide and others to carry on, since his own duties as custodian made it impossible to reside in the Piro area for any length of time. Later on, when the work was proceeding satisfactorily, Arvide was transferred to Jémez to undertake another important task there, the refounding of the congregation pueblo abandoned in 1623.

This line of reasoning is supported by the chronology as stated in Benavides' sketch of Arvide's life in section 42 of the revised *Memorial*. A close examination of section 25, describing the beginnings of the Piro conversions, also indicates that it records two significant points: (1) that Benavides made visits to the Piro area over a period of something less than a year and a half; and (2) that because of his official duties he "handed over" administration of the area to Arvide. The order in which these points are presented and the general tenor of the narrative in section 25 would imply that Arvide took charge after the work had been in progress about a year and a half, or toward the end of 1627, but Benavides does not make an explicit statement to this effect. And in the light of other evidence, it seems clear that the narrative may be interpreted as recording two overlapping phases of the Piro missionary enterprise.

We are also of the opinion that Arvide's career indicates that he would have been little inclined to take charge of a mission where he would have had the relatively easy task of carrying on a job that someone else had successfully begun. It was evidently his nature to be a missionary pioneer. He started the Picurís mission and remained there, despite the hostility of his neophytes, until the opposition became so serious that Benavides characterizes it as rebellion. In the early stages of the Piro conversion he would also have had an opportunity to do pioneer work, even though Benavides visited the area at frequent intervals. But once the work was well under way, Benavides, who

evidently recognized his special talent, sent him to Jémez to reëstablish the congregation pueblo at San Diego. And it may also be pointed out that during his period of service at Jémez, Arvide made a missionary journey into the Navaho country. By 1632, having established the scattered Jémez at San Diego, he was ready to move on to a new pueblo and undertook the journey that cost him his life.

We have argued this point at some length because it involves the chronology of missionary events in two important parts of the Pueblo area; and it is the purpose of this paper to establish with as much accuracy as possible the basic facts of mission chronology in this early period. The discussion will also have served to clarify important facts in the career of a courageous Franciscan friar who gave his life in the service of the Church.

No information is available concerning the immediate successor of Arvide in the Piro field. After the arrival of the 1629 caravan additional missionaries were assigned to that area, of whom the best known are Fray Antonio de Arteaga and Fray García de San Francisco (lay brother). Arteaga and the lay brother were stationed at Senecú, where they founded the convent of San Antonio de Padua, and during the succeeding nine years they labored together at this new mission. It was from Senecú that Arteaga, García de San Francisco, and several others set out on an unsuccessful missionary journey to the country of the Zipias and Ipotlapiguas in northern Sonora in 1638. Soon thereafter Arteaga left for New Spain, and Fray García de San Francisco, still a lay brother, may have accompanied him in order to obtain ordination as a priest. But whereas Arteaga remained in Mexico and rejoined his province of San Diego of the Discalced Franciscans, his old associate returned to New Mexico to resume his labors at Senecú, where he became guardian of the convent. Fray García remained at Senecú until the end of the 1650's, and in 1659-1661 served as vice-custodian. It was also at this time that he undertook

the direction of a new missionary enterprise among the Manso and Suma Indians in the El Paso region.[136]

Vetancurt tells us that Socorro "was a foundation of the venerable Padre Fray García."[137] Although he may have assisted at Socorro from time to time, it is now clear, on the basis of the data presented above, that the Socorro mission was established before 1629, when Fray García first came to New Mexico. The earliest reference to a friar at Socorro subsequent to 1629 is for the year 1638, when Fray Juan Suárez (or Juárez) was guardian.[138]

Benavides' Memorials of 1630 and 1634 also mention a third Piro convent at Sevilleta, but this foundation was not permanent. We have no record of any friar who served as guardian, and it was apparently replaced by the convent of Alamillo. A document of 1638 states that Fray Diego López was then guardian of the "Convento del Santo Angel de la Guarda del Alamillo."[139] The mission was later known as Santa Ana.

It is unnecessary to trace in any detail the story of the founding of the new missions at Ácoma and in the Zuñi and Hopi areas in 1629, since the essential facts are well known. Fray Juan Ramírez founded the convent at Ácoma and apparently served there for many years.[140] Fray Roque de Figueredo, Fray Agustín de Cuellar, and Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios started the conversions in the Zuñi district. One convent was established at Hawikúh, and a second probably at Hálona. It is apparent, however, that

---

136. Bloom, "Fray Estevan de Perea's *Relación*," p. 226; Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 309, vol. 4, pp. 24-25; A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 385, exp. 15; Scholes, *Troublous Times in New Mexico (1659-1670)* (Albuquerque, 1942), pp. 21-106, *passim;* Hackett, *Historical Documents*, vol. 3, p. 189. Other friars who served at Senecú were Fray Diego de Santander (1665), Fray Tomás de Alvarado (1667), Fray Nicolás Hurtado (1670), Fray Joseph de Paredes (1672), and Fray Ildefonso Gil de Avila (1675).

137. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 309.

138. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 385, exp. 15. Other friars who served at Socorro prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Benito de la Natividad (1659-61), Fray Fernando de Velasco (1672).

139. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 385, exp. 15. Other friars who served at Alamillo were Fray Francisco de Acevedo (1659), Fray Salvador de San Antonio (1672).

140. Other friars who served at Acoma prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Francisco Muñoz (1660-61), Fray Salvador de Guerra (1661), Fray Nicolás Freitas and Fray Diego de Santander (1666), Fray Fernando de Velasco (1667), Fray Lucas Maldonado (1671-80).

these three friars did not long remain among the Zuñi, and by 1632 Letrado had been transferred from San Isidro de Xumanas to Hawikúh where he suffered martyrdom in 1632. The later history of the Zuñi missions has been told in detail in the writings of Dr. F. W. Hodge.[141]

The pioneer friars in the Hopi area were Fray Francisco Porras, Fran Andrés Gutiérrez, Fray Cristóbal de la Concepción (lay brother), Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura, and Fray Bartolomé Romero. The first three are mentioned in Perea's *Relaciones;* the fourth is mentioned in Vetancurt's account of the death of Porras in 1633;[142] and from the seventeenth century records we learn that Romero served in the Hopi area for some ten years prior to 1640.[143]

The first convent was established at Awátobi in 1629, and it was here, so Vetancurt tells us, that Porras was poisoned in 1633. Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura was serving there with him at this time.[144] A second convent was founded at Oraibi, probably within a year after the first friars arrived in the Hopi area. Fray Bartolomé was guardian in 1640, and we have his own statement that he had already spent ten years among the Hopi.[145] By 1641 Shongopovi also had its own friar-house.[146] The other Hopi towns, Walpi and Mishongnovi were administered as *visitas* of these mission centers.

---

141. Fray Juan de la Ascensión served at Hawikúh in 1660-62, and in 1672 Fray Pedro de Ávila y Ayala was killed there. Fray Juan Galdo was stationed at Hálona in 1671-72, and Fray Juan del Bal in 1680.

142. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 212.

143. A. G. I., Patronato, leg. 244, ramo 7.

144 Other friars who served at Awátobi prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Alonso de Posada (1653-55), Fray Jacinto de Monpean (*ca.* 1662), Fray José de Espeleta (1672), and Fray José de Figueroa, *alias* de la Concepción (1680).

145. Other friars who served at Oraibi prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray José de Espeleta (1669-72), Fray José de Trujillo (1672), Fray José de Espeleta and Fray Agustín de Santa María (1680).

146. Fray José de Trujillo was killed at Shongopovi in 1680.

# NECROLOGY

## JAMES FULTON ZIMMERMAN

Death came to James Fulton Zimmerman, president of the University of New Mexico, on the evening of October 20, 1944, while he was attending a dinner party at the home of L. P. Briggs in Albuquerque. He was stricken with coronary thrombosis. His passing was sudden, but was not entirely unexpected as Dr. Zimmerman had suffered a severe heart attack on a hunting trip several years before from which it was thought for a while he would not recover. It was only a short time ago that he discussed with the writer his financial affairs and asked that a buyer be found for his farm under the Rio Grande Conservancy district holdings which he had acquired with a view of some day retiring to it.

Dr. Zimmerman was born on September 11, 1887, at Glen Allen, a small settlement near Lutesville, Bollinger County, in southeastern Missouri, the son of James Madison and Emily Narcissus McKelvey Zimmerman. A student at the Marvin Collegiate Institute at Fredericktown, Madison County, Missouri, 1905 to 1908, he also taught public school in adjoining Bollinger County in 1905 and 1906. It was from Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, however, at which he was a student, 1908-1913, that he obtained his B. A. and M. A. degrees. It was in the last-named year, on October 30, that he married Willa Adella Tucker, who survives him together with two daughters, Elizabeth Adelia (Mrs. C. Sidney Cottle) of Albuquerque, whose husband is a lieutenant commander in the U. S. Navy in the South Pacific, and Helen Emily (Mrs. R. Howard Brandenburg) of Taos, New Mexico.

Teacher of history in the Duncan Preparatory School at Nashville, Tennessee, 1913 to 1915; acting professor of history and government at the West Tennessee Normal School, Memphis, in 1915; principal of the high school at Paris, Tennessee, in 1916; instructor in economics and sociology at Vanderbilt University, 1917 to 1919; he entered Columbia University as a graduate student 1919 to 1923,

receiving his Ph. D. degree in 1925. In the meanwhile, he had been assistant executive secretary of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York City 1923-1925. It was in the last named year, at the age of 38, that he became professor of political science of the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, a post which he held when at the age of 39 years, succeeding Dr. David Spence Hill, he became acting president of the University on January 18, 1927, and president on September 1, 1927, although not inaugurated until June 4, 1928.

Dr. Zimmerman, as a member of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, was one of a European study group in the summer of 1931. He was a member of the Committee on Institutions of Higher Education and vice-president of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools 1940-1941; chairman of the Commission on Cultural Relations with Latin America of the Association of American Colleges; member of the Southwestern Political and Social Science Association; member of the National Association of State Universities, serving as president 1940-1941; and member of the following educational, honorary and Greek letter fraternities: New Mexico Educational Association, American Association for the Advancement of Science, New Mexico Historical Society, Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, Alpha Tau Omega, Sigma Upsilon, Phi Gamma Mu. He was president of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission 1935-1940, which in addition to putting on a colorful state-wide historical pageant in 1940, resulted in the establishment of the Coronado State Monument and archaeological museum at Bernalillo, and the Bandelier series of historical publications.

The breadth of Dr. Zimmerman's educational and scientific interests can be gauged from the fact that he was a zealous member of the School of American Research and a regent of the Museum of New Mexico as well as a director of the Laboratory of Anthropology at Santa Fe, in whose transactions he was one of the guiding factors.

A faithful attendant of the Methodist-Episcopal church he was also an enthusiastic Rotarian, serving as president of the Albuquerque Club and governor of the 42d Rotary district, including New Mexico and southwestern Texas. He had visited practically every county and every city and town in the State on educational errands and traveled far and wide to attend educational and scientific conferences. It was due to the zeal and never lagging effort of Dr. Zimmerman that the University entered upon a program of intensive building, broadening of interests, addition of new departments, a post graduate course and scientific research. He emphasized a university program paying particular attention to the natural advantages and development of New Mexico's resources. Inter-American relations, anthropology, arts and social sciences were his favorite topics in his many commencement orations, and other public addresses. He overlooked no opportunity to obtain money grants or influential coöperation and collaboration in furthering his objectives. This resulted in the influence of the University reaching Latin America and in the enrollment of the University increasing in the first ten years of his presidency from 610 to 2,569.

The founding of the University Press was an example of the close and profitable coördination of two State Institutions, the University and the Museum of New Mexico, to which were added the School of American Research and the New Mexico Historical Society. At a conference of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, Dr. Zimmerman, the writer, and Attorney John F. Simms, plans were formulated for the removal of El Palacio Press from Santa Fe to Albuquerque and its subsequent development, the founding of the "New Mexico Quarterly" and an imposing program of book and periodical publications which have brought the Press and the University and its faculty far-flung fame for their publications.

The Harwood Foundation at Taos, the Chaco Canyon archaeological station; the San José experimental bi-lingual school, summer field schools, teachers college, extension

courses, and other undertakings and innovations of far-reaching import, can be credited to his administration.

The War placed additional heavy burdens upon the President of the University. The channeling of curriculum and assignment of faculty to programs adapted to military training was successfully accomplished without too much disturbance of the regular University instruction. Dr. Zimmerman, however, had set his face resolutely against lowering of University standards (so he told the writer only recently) in order to accommodate any post-war planning. He believed educational facilities are ample elsewhere for those who after the war sought manual training or could not qualify for University entrance requirements or maintain scholarly standards.

The building program fostered by Dr. Zimmerman has made the University campus favorably known throughout the land. Almost a score of modern structures in the architectural style of New Mexico, have been added since Dr. Zimmerman became president, four of them being dedicated at his inauguration. The most pretentious of the newest buildings are the magnificent library and the well-planned administration building. He was instrumental in allotting a part of the University lands for faculty homes and fraternity and sorority houses, all of Pueblo design of which the University was the first exponent, Dr. Zimmerman overcoming original local opposition by demonstrating the adaptability, beauty and historical appropriateness of this style of architecture. A fine athletic field and stadium, golf links and extension of the landscaping of the campus are achievements of his administration.

In his inaugural address, Dr. Zimmerman outlined comprehensive plans for the growth of the University, so idealistic that many of his hearers doubted their practicality. It was given to him to achieve these but at the sacrifice of his health, his very life. He had to overcome racial prejudices, professional jealousies, political and personal antagonisms, local wrangling and covert opposition. He had to be astute

statesman, adroit politician, resourceful financier. It was his task many times to reconcile and satisfy viewpoints of faculty and ever changing boards of regents, to plead with state governors, under six of whom, Republican and Democratic, he served, to wit: Governors Dillon, Seligman, Hockenhull, Tingley, Miles and Dempsey. He had to persuade legislature after legislature, finance committees and finance boards to grant needed financial support; he had to pacify pressure groups, the press and public opinion when unjust opposition to the University and its aims voiced itself. He would much rather have devoted himself to scholarly writing and research. He was the author of 'The Impressment of American Seamen," "The American Way in Foreign Affairs" and other contributions to periodicals as well as numerous important addresses which should be gathered and placed in the University Library.

Funeral rites were performed at the Student Union Building on the campus. The casket rested on a catafalque adorned with a floral arrangement of white chrysanthemums and red roses, a token from the Zimmerman family. The Rev. W. Carl Clement, pastor of the Central Avenue Methodist Church, preached the funeral sermon. A quartet of male singers sang two hymns, and Mrs. Miriam Douglass played the organ voluntaries and accompaniments. Burial was in Fairview Cemetery. Pall-bearers were B. H. Kinney, John Milne, Cale Carson, Dr. W. R. Lovelace, M. R. Buchanan, Hugh B. Woodward, Judge Sam G. Bratton and Thomas L. Popejoy.

Many were the tributes paid Dr. Zimmerman by associates and others prominent in educational circles ond political life. It was Dr. Joaquin Ortega, head of the School of Inter-American Affairs, who had said that the able leadership of President J. F. Zimmerman—"a man of vision"—taxed his resources and his physical endurance beyond ordinary human capacity. U. S. Senator Carl Hatch said: "The death of Dr. Zimmerman is a decided loss, not only to the university, but to the state and all educational institu-

tions everywhere. He was my personal friend, and with all his other friends, I mourn his passing." Clyde Tingley, city commission chairman and governor when at least five university buildings were constructed with Federal aid, paid tribute to Dr. Zimmerman's indefatigable efforts toward their construction. "He was tireless in pushing through the grants for these buildings," Tingley said, "and he put the university ahead of his health."

Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, director of the Museum of New Mexico and School of American Research, a loyal friend, collaborator and counsellor, wrote in *El Palacio*: "He was called up from the ranks to take up the most exacting task in the gift of the people, that of the presidency of the State University. With great modesty, but with steady confidence, he assumed the trust handed to him. Now he gives over to the state the results of a noble task nobly executed.

"He was a sturdy son of the West. He came up from its soil with the inheritance of strength and character that have given our country so many matchless men. A man of the people, he remained one of them throughout his life, with no other ambition than to serve them. To this he gave all that he had. If he realized the distinction of being placed at the head of higher education in the state, it was never obvious in his life among his fellows. He was ever the modest, steadfast exemplar of Christian manhood.

"Of firm convictions as every strong man is, he was above prejudice in administration. One could always count on an attentive conference and an earnest effort to reach a just agreement. I never knew him to make an unfair decision. Firmly he performed his duties without fear and without reproach. Upon the foundations laid by able predecessors, and with associates to whom he gave full confidence and support, he built the great institution that is the pride of New Mexico.

"Some of us have been privileged to witness the building of our University from the nondescript plant that he took over into a campus of distinction among the universities

of the United States. It was a distinguished life achievement for any man. Yet he claimed no credit for it.

"May we of New Mexico never underrate and never forget what we owe to the constructive mind of James Fulton Zimmerman. The guidance of the State University calls for the best in any man. It is the domain of youth, of those who are to carry the state toward its destiny. With what confidence and courage can youth face its opportunities, when it has the example of such a career for its inspiration. With what perfect certainty can our country go forward to its vast destiny so long as from its very soil there always emerges a Great Soul to meet its every need.

"President Zimmerman's work lives and grows. Its fruitage is to the generations of the future. Upon every one of his associates, upon every one of thousands of students, rests the obligation to carry the guidon of his leadership on and on and on."—P.A.F.W.

## Charles Le Roy Gibson

Charles Le Roy Gibson, associate professor of chemistry at the University of New Mexico, died at his home in Albuquerque on December 8, 1944.

Dr. Gibson was born at Clovis, New Mexico, on February 19, 1911, where his father was an official of the A. T. & S. F. Railway. He received his secondary education in the Belen, New Mexico, high school. During his high-school days, following a trip of the Belen high school football team, on which he played, he was stricken with poliomyelitis from which he recovered, but which left him unable to walk except with the aid of crutches.

He entered the University of New Mexico in 1929, graduating with highest honors in 1933. After a year of teaching in a New Mexico high school, he became an assistant in chemistry at the University of New Mexico, and in nine years received repeated promotions, until at his death he was an associate professor. Studying during summer quarters and during a leave of absence, he earned the M.S.

(1936) and the Ph.D. (1941) at the University of Colorado, his major work being in physical chemistry.

Dr. Gibson was rated by all his students and by his colleagues on the faculty as an exceptionally fine teacher. Not only was he very brilliant himself, but he possessed the faculty of making difficult academic subjects understandable to those less gifted. He commanded the respect and affection of every student who took his work. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, because of his ability in mathematics and physics, he was loaned by the chemistry department to teach physics in the pre-meteorology courses offered to army and navy students, for which work the university was signally commended by the Armed Forces.

In the anxious days following the entry of the United States into the war, Dr. Gibson worked constantly, taking his first vacation in several years, beginning July, 1944. The last of October he became seriously ill with malignant hypertension, from which he died on December 8.

Dr. Gibson is survived by his widow, Anna Vallevik Gibson, whom he married in August of 1944, and his mother, Mrs. Blanche Gibson, of Albuquerque.

Dr. Gibson was a member of the Kappa Sigma fraternity and the honor societies of Phi Kappa Phi, Sigma Xi and Phi Beta Kappa. He was also a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Chemical Society.

JOHN D. CLARK in *Science*

## EDWARD H. SHAFFER

Edward H. Shaffer, b. February, 1898. Served in infantry in World War I. Wounded and gassed. Educated in public schools of Kansas, his native state, and Northwestern University. Reporter in Lima, Ohio. Came to New Mexico in 1923, served as reporter on old *Albuquerque Evening Herald* under H. B. Hening and H. P. Pickrell. In 1924 went to *New Mexico State Tribune* and served as reporter, then managing editor under Carl Magee. Became editor in 1927 when the paper became the *Albuquerque Tribune*. Has

been active in civic affairs but not a joiner. Active in New Mexico Press Association. Close personal friend of Mr. and Mrs. Ernie Pyle and of other leading lights of the Scripps-Howard Organization. Shaffer has done considerable writing for magazines under various names. His wife is a well known magazine writer and editor. He had three children who survive him.

Edward H. Shaffer, affectionately known to his scores of close friends as "Shafe," symbolizes better than any other individual, a period in the development of the New Mexico press. He had wide influence as an editorial writer, was a leader in journalistic circles, and was a close associate and trusted counselor of many of the younger journalists and promoters of public welfare. He died in the early prime of a useful and promising career.

A native of Kansas, he was a disciple of the school of journalistic thought of the late great William Allen White whose main tenet was a profound faith in the common sense of the common man. In twenty years, Shafe left an indelible imprint upon New Mexico with his fine personality and his clean, clear, and incisive thinking. Serving in the first World War, he sustained injuries which weakened his health up to his untimely death. His sensitive, discerning intellect was disillusioned by his war experiences and observations, but he was not embittered, and he refused to surrender his high ideals.

After brief experience as a reporter in the Middle West, he came to Albuquerque in 1923 as a reporter on the old *Herald.* Soon he was working for the *New Mexico State Tribune*, now the *Albuquerque Tribune.* In four short years he rose through the positions of reporter and managing editor to editor, a just recognition of his abilities. His intimates know that on more than one occasion he has refused opportunities to go to better paying positions on larger newspapers, largely because he had come to identify himself so closely with his adopted state.

Who was Ed Shaffer, the man? Quiet, soft-spoken, unassuming, he was a friend and neighbor, a boss and con-

fidant to be treasured. He was a family man of balance, wisdom, and kindly sympathy. He was a community member who could be depended upon to side always with what is right and just, and to appreciate what is best and most worth while. Many community honors were offered him, but he was seldom seen in positions of obvious prominence. It was a part of his philosophy and devotion to duty that he could not engage prominently in causes without surrendering some part of his independence and fairness.

Who was he as editor? Again, always soft-spoken, unassuming, he was a man of unwavering courage and unalterable ideals. He was approachable always—anyone might see and talk with him, and feel at ease, but he was seldom deceived. His editorials did not thunder, but rather like surgeon's scalpels, they cut deep and cleanly to the core of matters. He was a master of diction, style, and logic. He was happiest when he was identified with the underdog, even though he knew the cause a lost one.

His very human side was well revealed in his *alter ego*, Ezra Egg. The perfect foil to the serious idealist in Shafe, his chuckling, witty, beloved column-creature brought a daily lift to thousands.

Least known was Shafe the reporter, but he was always a reporter as good newspaper men are.

Shafe was an editor's editor, and a newsman's newsman, but he never lost his close touch with the public he served.—P. A. F.W., Jr.

## Edward Lewis Medler

Judge Edward Lewis Medler died at his home, 921 North Third Street, Albuquerque, on January 21, 1944, after two years of illness. He was born on October 4th, 1873, in Washington, D. C., the son of Edward and Sophia Medler. His father was a contractor and builder. Medler attended the grade and high schools in Los Angeles, California, and graduated from the Yale University Law School with the degree LLD. cum laude, in June 1895. He was admitted to the New Mexico Bar on July 29, 1895, and

associated himself with the late W. B. Childers and was admitted to the Supreme Court of the United States Bar on February 25, 1907. He became a member of the Texas Bar on December 23, 1918, and the California Bar on March 11, 1929. He served as Assistant U. S. Attorney for New Mexico from 1900 to 1906. Judge Medler was a member of the law firm of Medler and Wilkerson of Albuquerque and later of the firm of Llewellyn and Medler, Las Cruces, New Mexico. Elevated to the bench of the Third Judicial District, he presided as Judge from 1910 to 1917. In 1916 he presided as trial judge of the Villa Raiders on Columbus, New Mexico resulting in the conviction, sentencing and hanging of seven of Villa's followers who had taken part in the raid during which eighteen New Mexico citizens were killed. From 1919 to 1927 Judge Medler practiced law in El Paso, Texas, and from 1929 to October 1933 in Los Angeles, California; returning from California, he opened a law office in Hot Springs, New Mexico, in 1933. Illness compelled him to return to his old home in Albuquerque two years ago.

Judge Medler in his early years in New Mexico was Captain and Regimental Adjutant of the New Mexico National Guard. From March, 1935, he served for several years as a member of the Board of Regents of the New Mexico College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts. He was a Republican and a member of the Presbyterian Church at Las Cruces. A 32d degree Mason, he was Master in 1900 of Temple Lodge A.F.&A.M. in Albuquerque, Past Potentate of Ballut Abyad Temple of the Shrine in Albuquerque and Past Grand Master of the New Mexico Masonic Grand Lodge.

Married to Lillian S. Thomas on October 14, 1909, at Albuquerque who survives him, he also leaves three children: Ensign John Thomas Medler, U.S.N.; Mrs. John (Eleanor L.) Lorenzen of Albuquerque and David C. Medler, a medical student in California.

At the funeral on January 24, 1944, Rev. E. B. King officiated, Temple Lodge No. 6 A.F.&A.M. having charge of the services at the grave. The pall-bearers were: John

Milne, J. A. Riehl, R. H. Hanna, Charles Lembke, G. W. Borland and Reuben Perry.—P. A. F. W.

JOHN BARON BURG

Death came to John Baron Burg in a hospital at Albuquerque on December 7, 1943. Born in Washington, D. C., on May 31, 1878, he was the son of Carl O. Berg, a Civil War veteran and educator, and Mary Pircher Burg. He attended private sectarian schools, St. John's College, Georgetown College where he received his A.B. and A.M. degrees, and Georgetown University Law Department which conferred on him the LL.B. and LL.M. degrees. Burg was a page in the House of Representatives of the 49th U. S. Congress, a committee clerk in the U. S. Senate of the 54th Congress and law clerk in the Post-Office Department 1902 to 1907. Admitted to the Bar of the District of Columbia on December 17, 1898, he practiced in Washington, D. C., before coming to Albuquerque in 1906, being admitted to the Bar of the Second Judicial District Court of the Territory of New Mexico on April 6, 1909, and that of the Territorial Supreme Court on January 5, 1910.

Burg served as probate judge of Bernalillo County and was a member of the lower house of the first state legislature of New Mexico. During the 1920's he was U. S. Commissioner and in 1936 was elected district attorney of the Seventh Judicial District, consisting of the counties of Valencia, Catron, Sierra and Socorro, with headquarters at Los Lunas. Upon completion of his term in 1941, he returned to the practice of law in Albuquerque, where he also served as a member of the board of directors of the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District.

Burg was interested in real estate and corporate enterprises, having developed several sub-divisions in Albuquerque, and having been president of the El Dorado Investment Co., the Las Huertas Gold Mines Co., the Valle Grande Corporation, and the Title Guarantee and Trust Corporation. Although he volunteered for the Spanish-American War and for World War No. 1, he saw no active service. He was a member of the Knights of Pythias.

Burg is survived by his wife, Dolores Otero, daughter of the late Mariano S. and Filomena Otero Perea Otero, thus having been connected by marriage with two prominent New Mexico pioneer families. A brother, Joseph Paul Burg of Washington, D. C., also survives.

The funeral took place at Albuquerque on Wednesday, December 8, 1943. Mass was said in the Church of the Immaculate Conception by Rev. D. P. Callaghan. Burial was in Santa Barbara Cemetery.—P. A. F.W.

## JOSEPH BARNEY ATKESON

The first attorney to locate in Artesia, New Mexico, Joseph B. Atkeson died on Friday, September 15, 1944, at his home, 303 West Grand Street, succumbing to a heart attack he had suffered two weeks previously, although he had been up and about and was resting on a couch when he passed away peacefully.

Atkeson was born in Maniteau County, Missouri, on September 29, 1859, and therefore would have been 85 years of age fourteen days after his death. In 1880 he took up his residence in Warburn, Texas, where he married Wilhelmina D. Lehmann Leslie in March 1893, who survives him, together with a son, Lloyd T. Atkeson of Corpus Christi, Texas, and a brother, William T. Atkeson of Fortuna, Missouri.

Atkeson was admitted to the Texas Bar in 1892. In 1904, he took up his residence in Artesia where he opened a law office, practicing first on temporary license granted by Territorial District Judge William H. Pope in February, 1904. He was formally admitted by the Territorial Supreme Court on January 6, 1909.

Funeral services were held in the First Christian Church of Artesia by the pastor, Rev. Kenneth Hess, on Sunday afternoon, September 17. Active pall bearers were C. O. Brown, Britton Coll, B. E. Spencer, Albert Richards, Stanley Blocker and Kenneth Wagner. Honorary pall bearers, most of them pioneer residents of Artesia were Albert Blake, J. W. Bradshaw, Judge G. U. McCrary, I. S.

Reser, Jefferson Hightower, Dr. H. A. Stroup, S. W. Gilbert, A. B. Coll, C. E. Mann, Rex Wheatley, R. L. Paris and W. E Kee. Burial was in Woodbine Cemetery, Artesia.

P. A. F. W.

### R. E. Rowells

Judge R. E. Rowells died at his home in Clovis after an eventful career during which he served as city attorney of Clovis, the first probate judge of Curry County, assistant district attorney and a member of the Clovis City Commission. He was born on a farm near Waupun, Wisconsin, on January 9, 1867, the son of Luke and Margaret Rowells and had therefore attained the age of 77 years. He was married three times, the first marriage being to Mary Drewry at Lewisville, Arkansas, 1897, who died in 1908. The second marriage was to Mrs. Nannie E. Long in September, 1910, at Amarillo, Texas, who died in 1921. The third and surviving wife was Mrs. Amy Parker Britt, the marriage taking place June 10, 1931. He was successively admitted to the Bars of Arkansas, Indian Territory, Oklahoma and New Mexico, to the last named on January 8, 1908. A graduate of the Illinois College of Law in Chicago, his first practice was in Hugo, Oklahoma. He came to Clovis in 1907 and was first associated with W. A. Havener, then with George L. Reese, Sr., and C. Thurston Maltby. He was State Lecturer of the Modern Woodmen for several years and member of the Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias and of Clovis Lodge No. 40, A.F.&.A.M.—P. A. F. W.

*A Tentative Guide to Historical Materials on the Spanish Borderlands.* By Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M. (Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1943; 106 pp. $3.00.)

Dr. Steck has himself long been interested in the history of the "Spanish Borderlands"—those parts of the present United States from Florida to California which were for so long under the Spanish crown; and of recent years he has been aware of the manifold and growing interest in this field on the part of "teachers, students, writers, lecturers, and librarians." A guide to the widely scattered materials seemed called for, especially in our periodical literature, and this modest volume is the result.

The list of periodicals from which he has drawn the materials for this guide (pp. 7-9) includes not only all of those in our own country which we should expect to find, but it includes also periodicals from Italy, Germany, Spain, Canada, Mexico, and Argentina. The titles listed are grouped in seven sections: general and comprehensive; discovery and exploration (1513-61); Florida (1561-1819); Louisiana (1763-1803); Texas (1689-1836); New Mexico and Arizona (1581-1846); and California (1769-1846).

Most, but not all, of the titles are accompanied by informative comments in fine print, usually authoritative and excellent but some of them need revision.

In some cases an important title which seemed to be omitted from the *Guide* has been found in a different section. The "break-down" of the *Guide* into sections is helpful, but it would seem to call for an indexing of the *Guide* as a whole. Possibly Dr. Steck will add this in a later revised edition.—L. B. B.

*A Guide to Materials Bearing on Cultural Relations in New Mexico.* Compiled by Lyle Saunders. (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1944; xvi+ 528 pp.; author and subject indices. $4.00.)

Here is one of those books which place the reviewer in a dilemma. Shall he dismiss it with a few discreet plati-

tudes, or shall he go into some of the adverse criticism which seems called for? For the benefit of those readers who want a real review, we feel that it is necessary to include some of the latter.

The original idea for such a guide, credited to Prof. Paul Walter, Jr., of the University of New Mexico, was certainly admirable; and the analysis of benefits which might derive from such a project—as portrayed in the Introduction by Dr. Joaquin Ortega, head of the School of Inter-American Affairs—is intriguing and stimulating. The compilation itself, running to a total of 5,335 titles, is impressive, indeed rather overwhelming; and in our own case we are glad to say that we have already noted various leads which it will doubtless be well worth while to follow up. An excellent feature of the *Guide* is the provision of two indices (by author and by subject), a feature which is usually missing in books of this kind.

Our adverse, or may we say constructive, criticisms are three in number. In the first place, as we scanned through the book an immediate impression was one of being appalled at the complete absence of necessary accents. Turning back to Mr. Saunders' Preface (p. xv), we find his explanation offered that, in the "interest of simplicity" accents on "foreign" words, with the single exception of the tilde, have been uniformly omitted. As to the tilde, the names "Doña Ana" and "Zuñi" appear throughout the *Guide* some thousands of times and in no single case is there a tilde. As to the accent, it would be interesting to know what Mr. Saunders means by "foreign." If he so indicates, as he must, words of Spanish origin, he has unconsciously revealed an Anglo bias which is unfortunate. English has been the official language in New Mexico for less than a hundred years; Spanish has been here for over four hundred years—and, of course, the Indian languages still longer. To think of them as "foreign" is absurd, and it is a real disservice to anyone turning to this *Guide* not to have necessary accents properly shown. Such omissions run into the thousands.

Again, the compiler states (p. xi) that "This is not a

complete bibliography of New Mexico." Well, it is scarcely a bibliography at all, except in the most elementary sense of being a listing of materials; certainly it is not such a "critical bibliography" as that visualized by Dr. Ortega (p. v), furnishing "authoritative knowledge of the work that has been done before." There has been no evaluating whatever of any of these more than 5,000 titles—unless we so regard the work which has been done on the section of "Selected Titles" (pp. 97-123) with the accompanying "Dictionary-Guide" (pp. 1-96). But even here, the comments supplied with each of the 263 titles selected are purely descriptive and in few cases do they have the semblance of critical estimates. In all the supplementary lists, the great majority of the titles lack even such descriptive comments. With commendable and engaging frankness Mr. Saunders acknowledges (p. xv) the assistance he has received from numerous individuals and institutions, and confesses that he has "pilfered freely" from the lists of other bibliographers.

It would be utterly unreasonable to expect Mr. Saunders himself to supply a critical appraisal of any large part of such an enormous mass of material; indeed, he seems to be personally unacquainted with most of it except by title. Apparently he has included in his list everything—good, bad, and indifferent—which has been card-indexed during his years of research on this project. Countless numbers of these titles have been the subject of critical review by students who have been qualified to appraise them, but in not a single case have we noted such an authority quoted or even cited. Book reviews seem to have been wholly ignored by the compiler and his assistants. An example in point is title No. 2433. This book, replete with errors and mistranslations, was the subject of at least three adverse reviews; also Miss Bailey stands charged with having appropriated without credit the written work of another student in the same field. (J. M. Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande*, p. xix, note). Perhaps it is best to include in the *Guide* even a book of this kind, but if so, the reader has a right to be informed of its character. Formal book reviews constitute

an important part of Southwestern bibliography, but it seems to have been entirely disregarded by Mr. Saunders and his assistants.

Wholly disregarded also in this *Guide* is the bibliographical material which appears in the form of editorial discussions, notes, communications,—in scientific periodicals, but sometimes also in popular magazines and newspapers. Often important historical facts are presented in what we might call such "informal reviews." For example, Dr. Carl O. Sauer (title 2624) argues that Fray Marcos de Niza could not possibly have made his journey to Cíbola and back within the time limits alleged. In the same issue of this quarterly, in the pages *immediately following* Dr. Sauer's paper, we pointed out in an editorial that Dr. Sauer's conclusion was invalid because it rested on erroneous premises which he and others had drawn from the basic source materials. The editorial was shown in the "Contents," it was indexed,—but it nowhere appears in the *Guide.*

Disregarded in at least one case also have been those who, anyone would suppose, might have given helpful information in an intelligent listing of materials in the *Guide.* The Coronado Library at the University of New Mexico has on its shelves some hundreds of volumes of photostat material, gathered chiefly from the archives in Spain, Mexico, and at Santa Fé. There is no more important body of source material in the whole field of Southwestern Americana; most of the facsimiles have been on the shelves for the last four years; and the three men chiefly responsible for placing them there (Dr. France V. Scholes, Dean George P. Hammond, and the writer) have all been Mr. Saunders' colleagues on the campus. At no time during these years has anyone of us been consulted by Mr. Saunders; nor is it apparent that he has even looked inside one of the volumes—otherwise, he would have found explanatory forewords, some made when the documents were being photographed and others when they were being arranged for binding. Instead, he seems to have depended solely on the library accession records and the result may be seen in the *Guide* on pages 448-450. *Qué barbaridad!*

Our third criticism is of much less importance. A serial numbering of titles, consecutive throughout the entire *Guide,* doubtless seemed to Mr. Saunders imperative—especially to make brief references possible in the two indices. Unfortunately, this makes the *Guide* inflexible, and as one result we have nearly 500 titles under *Addenda* (pp. 437-470), assembled during the last three years and which could not be distributed in their proper sections because of the numbering,—and because "the first parts of the manuscript were [already] printed" (p. xiv) ! Will future additions necessitate still more *addenda?*

Too many students think, as does the compiler (p. xv), that "complete bibliographical information" consists of the name of author, title, date and place of publication. A work so constituted is nothing more than a "list of sources." That is exactly what this book is and, intentionally or otherwise, it is well expressed in the title which Mr. Saunders selected for his compilation. There are many and serious omissions, especially in the field of historical sources; and we are left in some doubt as to how complete the listing has been even in those sources which have been used. Yet Mr. Saunders' compilation is impressive in amount, and doubtless many students will get real help from it.—L. B. B.

*Racial Prehistory in the Southwest and the Hawikúh Zuñis.* By Carl C. Seltzer. (Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Volume XXIII, No. 1, 1944; vii+37 pp. $0.75.)

This paper is something of a landmark in our understanding of the prehistory of the Southwest.

The remains from Hawikúh (the first of the Zuñi pueblos reached by Coronado), as one of the largest skeletal collections from the Southwest, provide an excellent basis for analysis of racial relations. The remains date from the earliest Spanish period but can be presumed to be free of Caucasian elements. The impressive circumstance is that Seltzer shows the early Zuñi skull and face form to be identical, in all essential respects, not only with other Pueblo

skulls from over the whole Southwestern plateau—remains dating variously from the 10th to 16th centuries—but with those from still earlier type-sites of Basket Maker culture levels in southern Utah and northeastern Arizona. On these grounds he justifiably views all the material as representative of a single sub-racial type, "Southwestern Plateau Indians," which occupied the area continuously from earliest times to the present, presenting only minor variations from group to group. The only groups standing apart are those of the upper Rio Grande. While the majority of skulls from Pecos burials, e.g., are of "Southwestern Plateau" type, there are some differences here, attributable perhaps to influences from the Plains or non-Pueblo tribes of the Southwest.

The importance of Seltzer's conclusion lies in the correction of a traditional error regarding the peopling of the Southwestern plateau. It has been traditional that the early Basket Makers were a long, narrow skulled (dolicocephalic) people, supplanted by round-headed (brachycephalic) invaders with Pueblo culture. The justification for this antithesis lay in two points: the first finds of Basket Makers were indeed notably long-headed and later finds of more broad-headed Basket Makers were ignored; again, as T. D. Stewart long ago pointed out, the commonly occurring flattening of backs of Pueblo skulls gave a specious appearance of relative breadth which they did not actually have. The fact is that the norm for both groups is moderate breadth of head (mesocephaly), with perhaps a slight shift toward greater round-headedness in the later population; but what should be underscored is that all other morphological characteristics of face and skull are alike in the two groups.

The view that there was a sharp break between Basket Maker and Pueblo cultures was abandoned some decades ago: we know, rather, that the latter developed out of the former by gradual transition. As a result of Seltzer's investigation we can now phrase the prehistoric picture as one of continued occupation of the area by a single relatively stable sub-racial type who gradually developed cultures

from simple Basket Maker beginnings to complex Pueblo forms.

LESLIE SPIER

*Navaho Witchcraft.* By Clyde Kluckhohn. (Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology, Harvard University, vol. XXII, no. 2, Cambridge, 1944; pp. x+149. $2.25.)

This monograph represents many years of work by Mr. Kluckhohn in collecting field notes on Navaho folk belief in witchcraft current during the past twenty years. Part I and the Appendices contain the data, and in Part II he makes "certain inferences and interpretations as to the dynamics of Navaho social organization."

The Navaho belief in witchcraft affords an outlet for certain emotions in the individual and thereby serves a useful social function; on the other hand it has a reverse effect of inhibiting normal social activities through fear and so is bad.

Mr. Kluckhohn does not publish this study as being definitive, but it is an excellent and important piece of work. If scientific studies had been the basis of the white man's management of Indians, the story of the redman might have run a different and better course.

FRANK D. REEVE

*Plateau,* the interesting little quarterly published by the Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, at Flagstaff, often carries articles which are related in one way or another to Southwestern history. In volume 17, no. 2 (Oct., 1944), pp. 27-40, is a study by the well known ethnologist of the Smithsonian Institution, John P. Harrington (who, we might say, cut his eye-teeth at the Museum of New Mexico) on the subject "Indian words in Southwest Spanish, exclusive of proper nouns." Which reminds us (and possibly him) that some ten years ago he promised a paper to this quarterly on words of *Arabic* origin in Southwestern Spanish—which has never materialized.

In the current issue of *Plateau* (January, 1945), at page 54 is a short contribution by Erik K. Reed on "The

Dinetxa tradition and pre-Spanish Navajo distribution." He suggests that this long-accepted tradition may actually trace to the "numerous Pueblo refugees [who] joined the Navajo at the end of the seventeenth century." If this should be true, then he concludes that the question "of Navajo entrance into the Southwest and pre-Spanish Navajo distribution in the Southwest is left wide open."—L.B.B.

"Bibliografía de historia de America (1941-1944)," in *Revista de historia de America,* No. 17 (junio de 1944), pp. 161-266.

Although it is wholly in Spanish, we feel constrained to call the attention of our readers to this publication of the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia (Mexico, D. F.) Under the very able direction of Dr. Silvio Zavala, the *Revista* holds high rank among publications of this kind. Not least in value and importance is the bibliographical section which, in each issue, keeps its readers informed as to current historical publications in all parts of America—from Canada to Argentina and Chile; and (in this country) from Maine to California. And occasionally citations are from Spain and other European countries. The Instituto has built up a remarkable range of exchanges (pp. 261-6), and evidently is on the regular mailing-list of all important publishers also. The bibliographical notes, prepared and initialed by Dr. Zavala and his colleagues, will compare most favorably with those in any similar publication.

This issue carries also three notable articles: one by José Miranda on "Notas sobre la introducción de la Mesta en la Nueva España," one by Pablo González Casanova on "Aspectos políticos de [Juan de] Palafox y Mendoza," and a third by Millares Carlo and Mantecón on "El archivo de notarías del Departamento del Distrito Federal (Mexico, D. F.)." There is also an appreciative obituary on the late Dr. Herbert I. Priestley of Berkeley; and there are forty pages of excellent book reviews—a section which supplements admirably the similar sections which we have in our publications in the United States.—L.B.B.

*The Americas*, "a quarterly review of inter-American cultural history," was inaugurated last year by the new Academy of American Franciscan History—which itself was formally opened in Washington last April. The first two issues (July and October, 1944) have carried a total of 257 pages, comprising a total of fourteen contributed articles, a number of early documents edited (three by France V. Scholes), an interesting section called "Inter-American Notes," and a considerable number of book reviews. A number of the articles are more or less directly connected with the history of our Southwest, and its Spanish and Mexican background: "Spain's investment in New Mexico under the Hapsburgs" (L.B.B.); "Our debt to the Franciscan missionaries of New Mexico" (J. Manuel Espinosa); "The Franciscan provinces of Spanish North America" (Marion Habig); "A reconsideration of Spanish colonial culture" (John T. Lanning). Altogether, the new quarterly has gotten off to an auspicious start and the managing editor, Dr. Roderick Wheeler, and his immediate associates are to be congratulated.—L.B.B.

### SOUTHWEST JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY

A new periodical devoted to general anthropology, the *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, is soon to be issued by the University of New Mexico and the Laboratory of Anthropology as a joint publication. While designed primarily to provide another outlet for anthropological papers in the field at large, some specialization on the Southwest is contemplated. An effort is being made to secure papers on the native cultures of the area (Indian and Hispanic) which should be of some interest to historians. Historians are invited to participate with papers having some anthropological bearing. Contributions should be addressed to the editor, Dr. Leslie Spier, University of New Mexico.

The *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* will appear as an annual volume of 400-600 pages, in quarterly issues. The first number is planned for early 1945. Subscriptions, at $4.00 a year, should be addressed to the University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

## EDITORIAL SECTION

Recently it was suggested that our quarterly ought to have a "Lion's Den." Some of our readers doubtless are acquainted with this department which the late Charles F. Lummis maintained so characteristically (and effectively!) in his magazine *Out West.* Far be it from us to emulate such a polemicist as Lummis, but we will confess that occasionally we feel like growling—and here we submit what may be regarded as three "growls."

*What is "The Southwest"?* In the form of a reprint from the Huntington Library Quarterly of August 1944, there lately came to our desk an address by Dr. Robert G. Cleland, "Westward the Course of Empire." The address was delivered on Founder's Day at the Huntington, Feb. 18, 1944, and seems to have been occasioned by a grant of $50,000 which had lately been made to them by the Rockefeller Foundation of New York to undertake "a regional study of the Southwest." And Dr. Cleland stated, "The study so generously financed by the Rockefeller Foundation is concerned with the western reaches of the great stream of race, culture, and institutions that crossed the Atlantic and flowed across the continent; it is also concerned with the important tributaries that enter the main stream, usually to enrich, sometimes to muddy and discolor, and always to modify the waters of that great stream."

After studying the argument of this address, we have come to the conclusion that the name for this Huntington project is a misnomer, and that neither those who arranged for it with the Rockefeller nor Dr. Cleland in this address have a clear-cut concept of what the Southwest really is. They expect the study provided for under this project to "carry out the expressed desire and purpose of the founder" (Mr. Huntington) who "believed in the British-American tradition."

Is "the Southwest" a distinctive region of our country, and if so, what are the qualities or factors which make it distinctive? In our opinion there are three such factors.

(1) It is the region where, because of geographical and climactic conditions, irrigation is necessary to any successful use of the soil. It is the semi-arid part of our country, if you will. (2) It is the region where the early Spaniards found one of the few sedentary peoples of the new world—the Pueblo Indians. (3) It is that part of our country where the Spaniards left most profoundly the way of life, the culture, which they brought with them. "The Southwest" so conceived has, of course no sharply drawn boundaries; but we may say that where the above three factors are all present, we have the heart of the Southwest—but the regional character is strongly manifest in those areas where only two of the above three factors are found. In other words, we think of it as extending from at least the Brazos valley of eastern Texas westward to include southern California. So defined, the "Southwest" would seem to be as distinctively a "region" as is New England or the Old South.—L.B.B.

*Travel*, for December 1944, carries an illustrated article by Earle R. Forrest on "New Mexico's Stone Autograph Album"—in other words, El Morro, better known as Inscription Rock. The article is of the kind which has strong popular appeal, but to any informed reader it is exasperating because of some "threshing of old straw," and numerous mistranslations and misreadings of dates, even of those inscriptions which are shown by the illustrations. A better photograph of the Oñate inscription would show correctly that the year was 1605, not 1606 (an error which goes back to R. H. Kern in 1849) ; also Oñate was returning *from* his journey to the South Sea. The inscription of 1620 (the misreading as 1629 was pointed out some years ago) identifies it with the governor Don Juan de Eulate—not with "Zotylo" as Mr. Forrest seems to think. He repeatedly misreads the Spanish "5" for "9"; and with a little research he might have found a more satisfactory translation of the Silva Nieto inscription. But why should a popular writer

go to the trouble of having his information correct, if he can "get by" without that bother?—L.B.B.

*What is Santa Fé's name historically?* During the last few years, one and another have been representing that the complete name of Santa Fé, originally, was "La Villa Real de la Santa Fé de San Francisco de Assisi" (or some slight variant thereof). So far as we know, this form of the name originated in the fertile imagination of Col. Ralph E. Twitchell who *(Leading Facts of New Mexican History,* I, 334, note 337) makes the categorical statement that "the original and full name of New Mexico's capital is Villa Real de Santa Fé de San Francisco." With the added phrase "de Assisi" this name appears, e.g., in the bulletin of our Historical Society, *Old Santa Fé and Vicinity.*

We challenge anyone to produce evidence justifying the above form of the name. In the course of nearly forty years we have become fairly well acquainted with the source materials of this region, and in no case do we recall ever to have seen the name other than a simple "Santa Fé," or "la Villa de Santa Fé," or (rarely) "la Villa Real de Santa Fé." There is dignity in a name which in English, means "The City of Holy Faith." It would be well for us to safeguard the simple dignity of that name.—L.B.B.

# The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

*Organized December 26, 1859*

## PAST PRESIDENTS

1859 — COL. JOHN B. GRAYSON, U. S. A.

1861 — MAJ. JAMES L. DONALDSON, U. S. A.

1863 — HON. KIRBY BENEDICT

*adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863*

---

*re-established Dec. 27, 1880*

1881 — HON. WILLIAM G. RITCH

1883 — HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE

1923 — HON. FRANK W. CLANCY

1925 — COL. RALPH E. TWITCHELL

1926 — PAUL A. F. WALTER

## OFFICERS FOR 1944-1945

PAUL A. F. WALTER, *President*

PEARCE C. RODEY, *Vice-President*

LANSING B. BLOOM, *Corresponding Secretary*

WAYNE L. MAUZY, *Treasurer*

MISS HESTER JONES, *Recording Secretary*

## FELLOWS

PERCY M. BALDWIN
RALPH P. BIEBER
LANSING B. BLOOM
HERBERT E. BOLTON
MARION DARGAN
AURELIO M. ESPINOSA
CHARLES W. HACKETT
GEORGE P. HAMMOND
EDGAR L. HEWETT
FREDERICK W. HODGE
J. LLOYD MECHAM
THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M.
FRANK D. REEVE
FRANCE V. SCHOLES
ALFRED B. THOMAS
PAUL A. F. WALTER

# CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 25, 1941)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, a vice-president, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be $3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review.*

Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendments shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

---

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Lansing B. Bloom, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

68

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

# New Mexico Historical Review

PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS, SANTA FÉ

*April, 1945*

*Editors*

Lansing B. Bloom — Paul A. F. Walter

*Associates*

Percy M. Baldwin — George P. Hammond
Frank T. Cheetham — Theodosius Meyer, O.F.M.
France V. Scholes

Vol. XX — April, 1945 — No. 2

CONTENTS

*Page*

John R. McFie, Jr. . . . . . . . . . *Frontispiece*

History of the Albuquerque Indian School — Lillie G. McKinney 109

The Use of Saddles by American Indians . . D. E. Worcester 139

From Lewisburg to California in 1849 (cont'd) — (ed.) L. B. B. 144

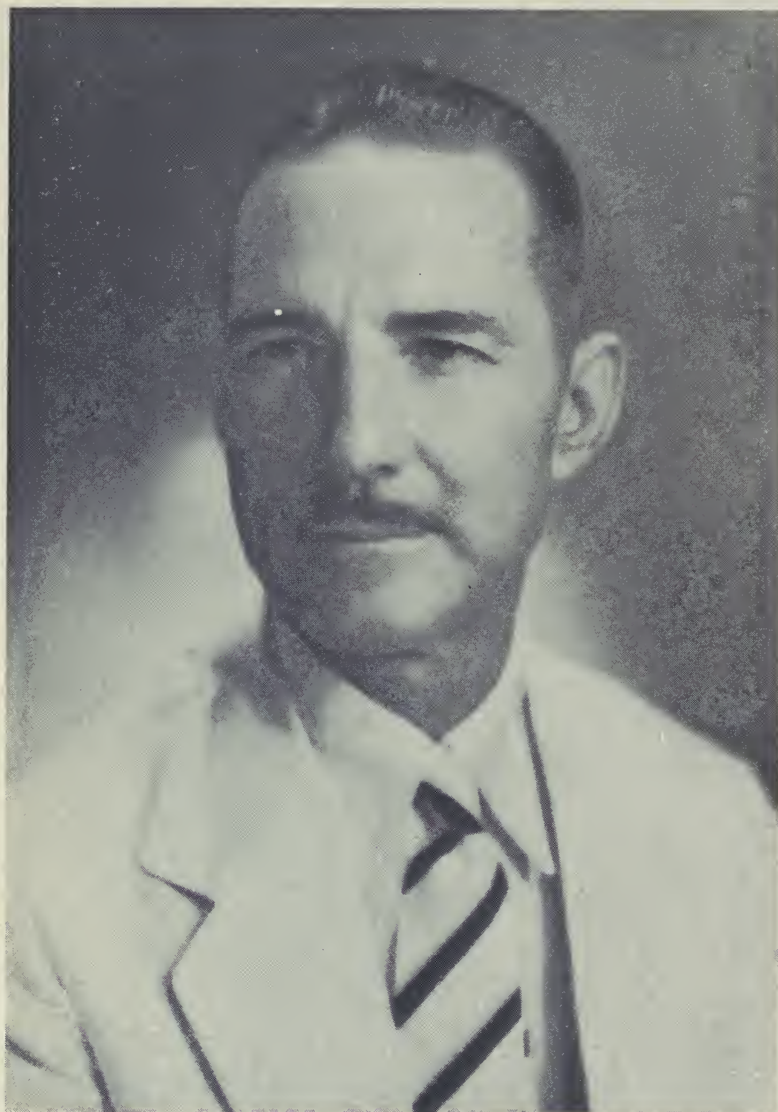
Necrology:
- Ruth Hanna Simms . . . . . . . P. A. F. W. 181
- John R. McFie, Jr. . . . . . . . P. A. F. W. 184

Notes and Comments:
- La Villa de Santa Fé . . . . . . . L. B. B. 187
- Grollet, Grole, Grule, Gurule . . . . . L. B. B. 187

The New Mexico Historical Review is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is $3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are $1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. L. B. Bloom, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
University Press, Albuquerque, N. M.



JOHN R. MCFIE, JR.

(*Necrology, p. 184*)

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XX APRIL, 1945 No. 2

## HISTORY OF THE ALBUQUERQUE INDIAN SCHOOL*

By LILLIE G. MCKINNEY

### INTRODUCTION

THE civilization of the American Indian has been slow, difficult, and expensive for our government. Different administrations have tried different policies. Usually some method of force was used down to 1876. Force meant the final extinction of the race. About the only education that filtered in among the savages was the result of the labors of heroic missionaries who established schools among them from 1819-1876 subsidized by meagre sums from the government.

The greatest pioneer missionary among the Indians of the Rocky Mountain area was Sheldon Jackson of the Northern Presbyterian Church from 1838 to 1909. He has been called the "pathfinder and prospector of the missionary vanguard."[1] By personal appeals to wealthy churches and individuals in the east he supplemented the small sums allowed by the government in educating Indian youths. In 1869 he became superintendent of missions under his church. From this time until 1876 he was actively engaged in establishing mission schools in all the Western territories, especially in Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico.

In 1876, under President Grant, the new policy of educating Indians under strict government control was much

*Accepted at the University of New Mexico in 1934 in partial fulfillment of requirements for the M. A. degree.

1. *The Pageant of America*, V. 1, p. 252.

more successful than his "peace policy" (forcing them to live on reservations and securing peace by feeding them).

In 1887, under President Cleveland, the Dawes Act was passed which provided individual ownership of lands and citizenship for such holders. In addition a liberal provision was made for educating Indian youths on reservations, and the appointment of more agents to protect them against the injustice of the white man. This was a generous and humane policy toward the Indians. It may well be called the Indian Bill of Rights. This policy has been followed by succeeding administrations and has proved fairly successful.

Hence, the Albuquerque Indian School is greatly indebted to the Presbyterian missionaries, to the liberal policies of the government, and to the public spiritedness of the citizens of Albuquerque for their donation of the present school site.

## CHAPTER I

### INCEPTION AS A CONTRACT SCHOOL (1878-1886)

As early as 1878, Major B. M. Thomas, United States Indian agent of the Pueblo agency at Santa Fé, proposed the establishing of a central boarding school.[1] On April 24, 1879, the office of Indian affairs instructed Major Thomas to find a site for such a boarding school on the public domain. On June 19, he reported that a survey would have to be made. By September 25, authority came to incur the expense of the survey as well as to advertise for proposals for the erection of a school building. Shortly thereafter the secretary of the interior reported to the president, November 15, 1879, that

> the establishment of boarding schools on the reservations for elementary and industrial instruction has therefore been found necessary, and as far as the means appropriated for educational purposes permit, this system is being introduced.[2]

On December 13, an offer of twenty acres about three

1. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 885, (1892).
2. 46 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 10-11, (1879).

miles from Albuquerque was made to the government on condition that the school should be a Catholic school under the immediate management of the archbishop of the territory. This was declined because the tract of land offered was too small and because of the restrictions imposed.[3] The following February 19, 1880,[4] Major Thomas reported that he could find no unoccupied land. However, he submitted a proposition that called for the leasing of 160 acres in the northwest corner of the pueblo of San Felipe from their officers for a period of ninety-nine years. This proposition was rejected. Major Thomas then suggested to the people of Albuquerque that if a suitable location near the city were donated to the government for the purpose, an Indian training school would be established. Steps were taken to secure the necessary land. By February 7, 1881, Agent Thomas reported that the citizens of Albuquerque, after nearly completing a purchase of land for the school, had abandoned the enterprise. Major Thomas believed that only two plans remained: first, to purchase a good place on the Rio Grande where water was plentiful for irrigation; or second, to reserve necessary land near Santa Fé where irrigation and farming could never be developed.

Meanwhile, missionaries of the Presbyterian church learned that the Albuquerque board of trade was interested in the establishment of an Indian training school at Albuquerque. On August 5, 1880, the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, superintendent of mission schools in the Territories, for the Presbyterian board of home missions, reported that the Board of Trade of Albuquerque would probably offer a location for a Pueblo boarding school.[5] Since the secretary of the interior had, a year previous, authorized the establishment of such a school and since the Presbyterian missionaries desired to direct such a school, the Reverend Sheldon Jackson offered to contract with the department to

3. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 885-6, (1892).

4. Perry, Reuben, *Historical Sketch*, p. 1, (1914) unpublished. Found in the office files of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

5. Letter of Reuben Perry to O. H. Lipps, commissioner of Indian Affairs—A partial list of the donors of the school site was: Franz Huning, F. H. Kent, W. C. Hazeltine, Albert Grunsfeld, E. S. Stover, W. B. Childers, A. M. Coddington, Santiago Baca, Mariano Armijo, L. S. Trimble, Perfecto Armijo, and Juan Armijo.

start one in the fall and carry it on until the government was ready to operate it. This offer was accepted, and a few months later a contract boarding school was opened by the Presbyterians in rented buildings.[6]

The previous October, 1880, Franz Huning had offered to donate forty acres about ten miles south of Albuquerque, but this offer was rejected on account of severe winds and sandstorms and the lack of improvements. Next, Mr. Huning proposed to sell for $4,500 an improved tract about five miles from Albuquerque, but this offer was not accepted because the Indian office had no funds. Then, on March 7, 1881, Major Thomas telegraphed that the town of Albuquerque had offered a donation of land, and asked if he should accept forty or sixty acres on condition that the government put up an Indian training school. The Indian office replied "that the acceptance of the offer did not seem expedient."[7]

In 1882, the principal of the contract school[8] reported that the citizens of Albuquerque had purchased an excellent tract of land in Bernalillo county for $4,500 well located, and one-fourth under cultivation, to be donated to the United States government as a site for an Indian training school.[9] This offer was accepted.

> This deed was approved by the attorney general, September 19, 1882, and was recorded in the Bernalillo county, N. Mex., October 13, 1884.[10]
>
> An adverse claim to a portion of said land

6. 52 Cong.. 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 885, (1892).

7. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892).

8. Those religious schools that contracted with the government to maintain and educate a specified number of Indian children were called contract schools.

9. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892).

"Beginning at a stake at the northwest corner of the lands formerly owned by John H. McMinn, thence N. 4°53′ W. 731.7 feet to a stake at the northwest corner of the land hereby conveyed; thence N. 84°52′ E. 2,320.7 feet to a stake at the northeast corner hereby conveyed; thence S. 3°45′ E. 720.4 feet to a stake, thence S. 7°30′ W. 793 feet to a stake at the southeast corner of the land hereby conveyed; thence N. 85°50′ W. 184.6 feet to a stake; thence N. 87°42′ W. 615 feet to a stake; thence N. 81°52′ W. 203 feet to a stake; thence N. 78°44′ W. 224 feet to a stake; thence N. 73°19′ W. 176.4 feet to a stake; thence N. 70°14′ W. 234 feet to a stake; thence N. 78°38′ W. 567.7 feet to a stake at the southwest corner of the land hereby conveyed; thence N. 6°8′ W. 234.4 feet to the point or place of beginning containing 65.79 acres, more or less."

10. Two buildings were erected on this tract by the government, and were occupied in August, 1884.

> having been set up by one Baldassare, the citizens of Albuquerque presented him with a $300 organ, when he executed a quit claim deed, December 26, 1884, which was recorded in the Bernalillo County, N. Mex., January 9, 1885. On the 8th of June, 1885, Superintendent Bryan submitted a plat of the land conveyed, with a view of quieting title to a certain road adjacent to and in front of school buildings.[11]

The location of the present site was in the very heart of the Indian country within easy reach of the Pueblos, Navahos, Apaches, and Utes. The climate was excellent, having mild summers and winters not too severe.

This was fine for the prospective Indian pupils because their new environment would be almost identical with that of their homes; and since the altitude was about 5000 feet, the climate was considered very healthful. The new school was to be located about two and one-half miles northwest of the city of Albuquerque—the metropolis, business, and railroad center of the territory of New Mexico. It had in addition to its many other merits, a picturesque location in the Rio Grande valley, bounded on the west by the craters from five extinct volcanoes and on the east by the beautiful Sandía and Manzano mountains. The present site originally consisted of sixty-six and seventy-nine hundredths acres purchased by the citizens of Albuquerque for $4,300.[12] The land was purchased in small lots from the native settlers, and the title was taken in the name of Elias Clark who, under date of June 17, 1882, conveyed the tract to the United States by warranty deed.

The school was located one mile north of old Albuquerque, at the village of Duranes, where it remained for over a year. It was first opened January 1, 1881, by the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, D.D., to educate Indian pupils at an annual cost of $130 per pupil. The school was a boarding and an industrial school for the Pueblos under contract

---

11. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892.)

12 Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 1 Cf., 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892). Mr. Perry gives sixty-six and seventy-nine-hundredths acres at $4,300; the House executive document give sixty-five and seventy-nine-hundredths acres (more or less).

with Henry Kendall, D.D., secretary of the board of home missions of the Presbyterian Church, United States of America. The contract was for a maximum attendance of fifty pupils of both sexes.[13] The average attendance was forty. The school was conducted in a Mexican house which had been built for a residence, and it afforded poor convenience for school purposes. J. S. Shearer was the superintendent in charge.[14]

Professor J. S. Shearer resigned in July, 1882, and was relieved on July 31, by R. W. D. Bryan of New York. Major Thomas wrote to the commissioner of Indian affairs at this time that Professor Shearer had been very industrious and successful in advancing the interests of the school, and that he was sorry that a change in management of the school was made necessary, for the school had been managed efficiently and had made fine progress during the year, even though confined to insufficient and unsuitable quarters.[15]

During October, 1882, Professor R. W. D. Bryan, his faculty, seventy pupils, and school property were moved from Duranes to the present location where a number of buildings were being erected by the E. F. Halleck Manufacturing Company of Denver, Colorado, under contract with the commissioner of Indian affairs.[16] These school buildings were accepted by the government through the inspection and recommendation of a board composed of Major Pedro Sanchez,[17] Superintendent of Construction Edward Medler,[18] and A. M. Coddington.[19] Their report

---

13. 47 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 199, (1882).

14. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 1-2, gives attendance as 47; Major Thomas in 47 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 199, (1882), gives attendance as 40.

15. 47 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 190, (1883).

16. The plot of ground was purchased by the citizens of Albuquerque and was located two and one-half miles northwest of the city.

17. Memoria Sobre la Vida del Presbitero, Don Antonio José Martínez, by Pedro Sanchez (Santa Fé, 1903) p. 45. Pedro Sanchez was appointed Indian agent by President Arthur and served till the election of President Cleveland.

18. Personal interview with Reuben Perry, June 23, 1934. Edward Medler was an old resident of Albuquerque and was a local contractor. His son, ex-District Judge Edward L. Medler, is now practicing law at Hot Springs, New Mexico.

19. *Ibid.* A. M. Coddington was one of the first citizens of Albuquerque in 1882. He was a resident judge of the city. He was a brother-in-law of B. S. Rodey and an uncle of Pearce C. Rodey, now practicing attorney.

was made about September 1, 1884, and the buildings were accepted soon thereafter.[20] The new school building could accommodate 150 children. Even at this early date the buildings were insufficient, for the superintendent found it necessary to erect some other buildings with funds furnished by charitable people in the East through the agency of the Presbyterian church.[21] Hon. H. M. Teller, secretary of the interior, in a letter to the president of the United States in 1884 said:

> The flourishing Albuquerque school has moved into new quarters after three years of waiting in rented buildings, supplemented by temporary makeshift additions, put up one after the other as the pupils crowded in. This building was intended for 158 pupils, and the superintendent of the school is asking for the immediate erection of another building to house the 50 additional pupils who will ask for admittance this fall, and the 100 others who can easily be obtained. The $40,000 appropriated this year for buildings will be needed for the Crow, Devil's Lake, Wichita, Quinaielt, and Fort Peck buildings, and repairs and additions at other points, and Albuquerque must wait another year, as must also nine other places where there are either no buildings at all or else buildings which need immediate enlargement.[22]

The school prospered greatly under the management of Superintendent Bryan, who remained in charge until October 2, 1886. On February 23, 1884, a congressional committee composed of Hon. Clinton B. Fisk, chairman, E. Whittlesey, and Albert K. Smiley visited the Indian school under the care of the Presbyterian home mission board. The committee reported to the secretary of the interior that Mr. R. W. D. Bryan was the principal of the school, and besides a matron and a cook, he had three assistant teachers; namely: Miss Tibbles who taught arithmetic, her most advanced class studying decimals; Miss Wood, who taught geography, reading, and spelling; and Miss Butler,

---

20. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 1-2, (1914).
21. 48 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 693, (1884).
22. *Ibid.*, p. 5. Cf, Appendix, p. 132.

the primary teacher, who taught chiefly by object lessons. Chairman Fisk further stated,

> We heard classes in all the departments. The teaching is entirely in English and is well done. Discipline in the schoolroom is good, and most of the scholars appear bright and interested in their studies. The health of the children is good except that some are troubled with sore eyes, probably caused by scrofula. The buildings are poor, but the dormitories are clean and well ventilated. The number of pupils now is one hundred and thirty-two. We saw them at dinner, which consisted of soup, mutton, and bread. After dinner we went to the ground given by the citizens of Albuquerque for new school buildings to be erected by the government, with room for one hundred fifty scholars. With the help of Mr. Bryan and the agent of the contractor we measured and staked out the sites for boarding house and school house. When these are completed, shops should at once be added for industrial instruction, which the Pueblo Indians need above all things.[23]

Superintendent Bryan believed in securing the Indian children who lived near the boarding school. He opposed sending children long distances from their homes. His views were best expressed in the annual report[24] of 1885, in which he stated:

> The ultimate object of the Indian schools is, as I understand, not so much the improvement of individuals as the gradual uplifting of the race. To this end it is important to guard against the formation of a wide gulf between parent and child, and to prevent the child from acquiring notions inconsistent with proper filial respect and duty. I am, therefore, anxious to have local and neighborhood day schools maintained; to have boarding schools multiplied within easy reach of their homes, so that the parents may often visit their children, and thus grow accustomed to their improvement, and so that the children may spend each year a long vacation at their homes. I would

23. 48 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Dec. 1, pt. 5, II, 693, (1884).
24. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 481-2, (1885).

> recommend that at this school, therefore, the term consist of nine months, giving the children three months at their homes. The schools at the east and far from the children's homes should be used as normal schools, to prepare those who have shown ability and aptitude at the local boarding schools to be teachers and leaders of their people.

It was under Superintendent Bryan that industrial education was introduced into the school. Because of this training, the boys soon made the buildings habitable, making many tables and other articles of furniture. Mr. Bryan suggested that special contracts be entered into for the maintenance of an industrial department allowing ten dollars per pupil per annum to be given for each trade established; to which at least one instructor should devote his whole time.[25] Carrying out the idea of industrial instruction, the boys and girls were employed in domestic work, especially in the dining-room and laundry. In addition the girls were taught sewing, cooking, and the care of the sick. Also a farm was operated during the year and forty acres were cultivated. The boys worked hard, especially the Apache boys, who previous to entering school regarded work as disgraceful. The painting instructor with a corps of apprentices painted, grained, and decorated in an artistic workmanlike manner several large houses. The stone cutters, who were selected from the pueblo upon whose land the stone was quarried, worked out door and window sills with care and accuracy. Mention should be made of the carpenter boys who did creditable work throughout the school term.[26]

According to a letter written by the Presbyterian home mission board to the board of Indian commissioners in 1885, the school needed to be enlarged because it was the central point at which the Pueblos and neighboring tribes might gather. The school was very popular with the Indians. If sufficiently large buildings were erected, almost any number

---

25. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 481, (1885).
26. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 481, (1885).

of pupils could be secured. It was believed that by 1886, the enrollment would reach 200.[27]

The faculty of 1885 consisted of R. W. D. Bryan, superintendent; the Misses Tibbles, Wood, Patten, and Butler, teachers; Mrs. Bryan and Miss Wilkins, matrons; Mr. McKenzie, instructor in carpentering; Mr. Loveland in painting; Mrs. Loveland and Mrs. Sadler in sewing; and Mr. and Mrs. Henderson in cooking and care of the tables. They were a courageous band of workers, and the work done by them as a whole was very encouraging.[28]

The average attendance during the year was 156. A noted event was the coming to the school of sixty Apaches. A few of the older pupils ran away, but the larger number remained, and many of them made rapid progress, especially in manual labor. However, the largest number came from ten of the nineteen pueblos. The Lagunas, the most advanced pueblo, sent thirty-two.[29]

Certainly the school under the direction of Mr. Bryan prospered and was successful, for Major Pedro Sánchez, Indian agent, in writing to the commissioner of Indian affairs, said:

> The boys and girls that return from the Carlisle school, as well as those who attend the Albuquerque school, are the pride of every man that appreciates education and desires the welfare of these Indians; but when they return home they have to join hands with the agent, and thus deal with the gross ignorance so deeply rooted in their people.[30]

And Mr. Dolores Romero, Indian agent at Isleta, in a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs wrote:

> I should recommend that more children be sent to Carlisle, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe, because

27. *Ibid.*, p. 801.

28. *Ibid.*

29. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 480, (1885). The Albuquerque Indian Boarding School was classed with reservation boarding schools, although it was not on a reservation because the school was originally intended for the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.

30. 48 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 183, (1884). Major Sánchez of the Pueblo Indian Agency at Santa Fé recommended in August, 1884, a day school in every pueblo.

> the children coming from these schools are a pride to civilization, and they are also an inducement to other children to attend more regularly, and would apply themselves to learn the first rudiments of learning in the primaries in order to go to the higher schools.[31]

Although Mr. Bryan's work terminated in 1886, he continued to have a very strong personal interest in the Indians and the Indian school. He made his home in Albuquerque where he became a leading attorney and a prominent citizen. In the spring of 1912, shortly before his death, he delivered an able and sincere address to the graduates of the Indian school. After reading this address in the *Albuquerque Evening Herald,* Commissioner Valentine wrote to Superintendent Perry, "I congratulate you on the fact that men of this type are interested in the Albuquerque Indian School."[32] It is certain that Superintendent Bryan laid a firm foundation for the continuance of the school: by drawing pupils from the pueblos and other nearby tribes; and, by introducing industrial training into the school. Fortunate, indeed, was the Albuquerque school to be piloted by a man as able as Mr. Bryan through the critical stages of its infancy from 1881-1886. His vision made later progress possible.

31. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 384, (1885).
32. Perry, *Historical Sketch,* pp. 4-5, (1914).

## CHAPTER II

## FIRST PERIOD OF GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT (1886-1897)

On October 2, 1886, the management of the Indian School was entirely transferred to the United States government[1] and P. F. Burke of New York entered on duty as superintendent.[2] He found that the school had accommodations for 200 pupils and was intended especially for the Pueblos and Mescalero Apaches. Since the government had made no arrangement to purchase the property claimed by the Presbyterian board he found that furniture and other interior appliances had been removed, leaving the buildings destitute of everything.[3] This was a rather bad situation, but could be remedied more easily than many other problems arising during his superintendency.

On August 31, 1887, he submitted the first *Annual Report*[4] under government management for the fiscal year ending June 30. According to this report, the Pueblo Indians were not favorably inclined toward educating their children, and it was with much difficulty and hard work that they were enrolled.[5] As early as 1883 boarding schools for Indians were considered by the commissioner of Indian affairs, greatly superior to day schools,[6] and the opening of the school at Albuquerque was expected to accomplish the greatest good and to be the most practical way of educating them;[7] whereas in the day schools the language and habits of the savage parents were kept alive in the minds of their

---

1. Ellwood P. Cubberly, *State School Administration*, p. 110. "In 1876 a new policy was adopted, viz., that of providing for the education of the Indians under strictly governmental auspices, and with this change in policy the real development of Indian education began." Evidently this was not a rigid policy, since the commissioner of Indian Affairs did not adhere to it in all cases.

2. 49 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 154, (1886).

3. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).

4. These reports may be subjective but are the best and most authentic material on the Albuquerque Indian School since supervisors would note any discrepancies.

5. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 545, (1892). According to a legend of many tribes, the Pueblo Indians chose ignorance and poverty in this world, but happiness in the next. This idea was ingrained in the Pueblo mind, constituting a basis of dogged resistance to efforts in educating their offspring; and when in some cases children were forcibly sent to school, on their return home, parents did all they could to destroy what they had learned.

6. 47 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 199, (1882).

7. 47 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 190, (1883).

children.[8] Naturally, the Pueblo parents were in a state of doubt and disbelief concerning the value of educating their children away from parental influence. The chief opposition came from the Pueblos at Santo Domingo and Jémez. These were both large groups, but neither sent children to the Albuquerque Indian school.[9] Even the northern Pueblos objected because they were distrustful of all efforts made in their behalf and clung obstinately to traditions and original systems of law. To the Pueblo villagers the day schools were all that could be desired, and they could not understand why the boarding schools were considered better. They, therefore, used the day schools as an excuse for retaining their children.[10] However, their attitude became more friendly after the arrival, in 1887, of Superintendent Riley and Agent Williams among them, for they sent 130 pupils soon thereafter to the school.[11] Opposition came also from the Ute squaws who held superstitious beliefs that the attendance of their children at the school two years previously was the cause of the death of about one-half of those in attendance. No doubt the cause of this great loss of lives was due to the diseased condition of an hereditary nature in the children.[12]

At this time five distinct tribes were represented in the Indian school. Of the pueblos San Felipe sent thirty-nine,[13] Isleta thirty-six, Laguna eighteen, Santa Ana ten, Zía eight, Ácoma eight, Cochití five, Sandía five; of the other tribes the Navaho sent eight from Cañoncito Cajo, the Mescalero Apache one, the Pápago seven, and the Pima twenty-three, making a total of 129 Pueblos and thirty-nine from other tribes. Superintendent Burke gave 170 as the maximum attendance for 1887.[14]

Teaching in most cases was rather poor. There was no uniformity in the course of study nor in the textbooks

---

8. 49 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 100, (1886).
9. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).
10. 50 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 268, (1888).
11. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).
12. 49 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 267, (1886).
13. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 768-9.

used.[15] The superintendent was allowed to select the textbooks and pursue the course of study that he liked best. The results varied widely within the school, and often a lack of purpose in ordering textbooks retarded progress. Nor was this all. Literary progress failed to keep pace with industrial, because the teaching force was inadequate; two teachers had to instruct and deal with 130 children of all ages and advancement. Besides this, the teachers lacked sufficient education to instruct the children in the rudiments of English.[16] No test was given teachers for capacity, intelligence, or character, and neither was there an assurance of a reward for merit,[17] and Superintendent Burke recommended that teachers in government schools be placed under civil service regulations to promote efficiency.

The fiscal year, 1888-1889, showed an enrollment of 219 and an average attendance of 172. Evidently the Pueblos were becoming more favorable toward education. At the beginning of the school term manual art instruction was reintroduced and was of great practical value to the pupils.

The next few years were critical ones for the school; the resignation of P. F. Burke May 24, 1889, was followed by frequent changes in superintendents. Many activities of the school were curtailed because there could be no constructive policy over a period of years; however, progress was made in the increased enrollment and in the extension of industrial work.

On May 25, 1889, William B. Creager was appointed superintendent, and his first *Annual Report* (1890-1891), was entitled "Report of Fisk Institute, Albuquerque, New Mexico."[18] In this report the account given of progress in the improvement of buildings and grounds was greatly overdrawn. He says

> that greater advancement has been made in all the industrial departments, in the improvement to

15. 50 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 730, (1888).
16. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 333, (1887).
17. 50 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 270-1, (1888).
18. *Ibid.*, p. 571. Possibly in honor of Clinton B. Fisk, chairman of the congressional committee.

> the buildings and grounds, in the additional comforts, and facilities for the education of Indian youth this year than in all previous years combined.[19]

The trades taught were: harness making, shoe making, cooking and baking, sewing, and laundry work.[20] The academic department[21] was under Mrs. D. S. Keck assisted by five women teachers. Since the new academic building had not been completed, only three rooms were used; other necessary rooms were fitted up elsewhere until the building was dedicated on May 30, 1892. The school was graded at the beginning of the year, and work was outlined for each grade. The highest grade had an enrollment of fifty, the intermediate fifty-eight, the second primary fifty-nine, and the first primary 147, making a total of 314.[22]

Daniel Dorchester, U. S. superintendent of Indian schools, maintained that there were two chief obstacles that hindered Pueblo progress, first, their adherence to ancient ideas and usages; and second, their dark religious fetichism.[23] Even Commissioner T. J. Morgan recognized these problems; he wrote that it was almost impossible to secure attendance of the Pueblo children since "there has been a persistent, systematic effort to prevent the people from patronizing these schools, and recently some of the patrons have been induced by misrepresentations to appeal to the courts to have their children removed from Albuquerque by a writ of habeas corpus.[24]

Commissioner Morgan requested that the Rt. Rev. P. L. Chapelle, coadjutor bishop of Santa Fé, use his influence to return the Isleta Indian children that had been removed by their parents because of the activity of the Catholic priest at Isleta. But Mr. O. N. Marron, Catholic attorney of Albuquerque, appealed to the courts to restore to the Pueblo parents their children, and Commissioner T. J. Morgan, not

---

19. *Ibid.*

20. 53 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 428, (1893).

21. The literary department in the Albuquerque Indian School has always been spoken of as the academic department.

22. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 679, (1892).

23. *Ibid.*, p. 545.

24. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 43-44, (1892).

caring to contest the matter in the courts, allowed the children to be taken.[25]

Superintendent Creager reported that the Indian children learned rapidly, but they were difficult to enroll because of the opposition of their parents. A recommendation was made by the commissioner of Indian affairs to congress to appropriate money for meals for visiting parents of the children in order to keep them friendly at enrollment time.[26] Teachers were not always fitted for their tasks; such a position needed men and women of tact, discretion, patience, sympathy, and loyalty in more than an average degree.[27] Apathy among the citizens of Albuquerque was noticeable at first, but upon being convinced that the school was an asset, they became interested and agitated for good roads to the school until the county commissioners built them.[28]

In dealing with Pueblo parents, Superintendent Creager aroused the opposition of the Reverend A. Jouvenceau, a priest among the Pueblos near Santa Fé. He instigated an investigation of Mr. Creager, and advised the Indian parents against sending their children to the Albuquerque school. The Indian office had considerable correspondence with Archbishop Salpointe on the subject, and hoped that Father Jouvenceau might be ordered to stop his interference with Pueblo parents. This was not the end of this unfortunate affair since two teachers, Miss Walter and Mrs. Gause, also presented charges against Superintendent Creager to R. V. Belt, acting commissioner. These charges were dismissed; the teachers had no proof to substantiate them and later pleaded earnestly that no investigation be made. However, Acting Commissioner Belt did write two letters to the commissioner on the subject. One related to the statements presented; the other advised that upon close observation of the conduct and management of the school and its personnel, an investigation was unnecessary. This

---

25. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
26. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 431, (1892).
27. 53 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 428, (1893).
28. 52 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 575, (1891).
29. Letter of Mr. R. V. Belt, acting commissioner, to William B. Creager, October 2, 1891. Found in the Albuquerque Indian School files, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

view was changed upon Mr. Belt's return to the Indian office when the commissioner showed him a letter from Miss Lillian Carr whose statements were in the form of cumulative evidence against Mr. Creager. Mr. Belt now suggested an investigation. This was not acted upon by the commissioner for his faith in Mr. Creager remained unshaken. Unknown to either of the above gentlemen, Inspector Gardener had taken matters into his own hands and had investigated the affair. This report tended to exonerate Superintendent Creager from the charges made, but left the impression that his retention would seriously embarrass the progress of the school in view of the publicity given the scandal. Dr. Dorchester was then sent to make further investigation. He exonerated Mr. Creager from the charges made,[30] but Superintendent Creager gave up his position March 31, 1894.

The school was next placed in charge of John Lane, special United States Indian agent, from April to June 15, 1894. During this brief time he tried to keep the standard high. The big problem as he saw it was the lack of drainage.[31] On June 16, F. F. Avery was appointed to the position, but served only until August 7, 1894. He in turn was succeeded by William N. Moss, supervisor, who had charge of the school from August 8, to September 30; and he was relieved October 1, 1894, by John J. McKoin, who was to hold the position until April 9, 1896.

Despite the fact that such frequent changes were made in the superintendency, the school, during this time enrolled 283 pupils. Regular and irregular employees numbered fifty-eight,[32] the school had a capacity of 300, and an average attendance of 256 at a per capita cost of $175. Work was fine in the kitchen, bakery, harness shop, and dressmaking department; the farm work was fair. Fourteen boys had work at the school while twelve hired out to local farmers. Dormitories were kept clean and fresh, and the

30. *Ibid.*
31. 53 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 1036, (1894).
32. *Ibid.*

conduct at the tables and in marching to and from the dining room was good.

Mr. McKoin reported that the year 1895-1896 was marked by dissensions among the employees, yet this friction did not keep the results of the work that year from being fairly satisfactory, both from a literary and an industrial point of view.[33] Reclaiming the school farm was slow discouraging work because of poor drainage and of the difficulty in securing water for irrigation. Its alkali condition was partially overcome by planting the land to alfalfa.[34] Another problem vexatious to the superintendent was the sewerage system. The land and sewerage problems were to harass succeeding superintendents.

Special U. S. Indian Agent M. B. Shelby relieved Mr. McKoin on April 10, 1896, and served until April 27, when S. M. McCowan arrived as the new superintendent at a salary of $1,500 per annum. In his report for 1896-97 Mr. McCowan stated that the frequent changes in employees and superintendents had been very detrimental, since 1894, yet this year showed some progress. The literary department was much better than in previous years, due possibly to the principal who was one of the few thoroughly competent instructors in the service.[35] Fair progress was made in the industrial departments. In the sewing room pupils were taught to draft, cut, and fit garments. Excellent work was done in the carpenter shop. All repairs were made by these boys. They kalsomined the entire plant, finished a nice bath house, and white washed the board fences. So energetic were they that all the paint was used up before the expiration of the school term. Satisfactory work was done in the laundry, bakery, and kitchen. Recommendations for the school included a sewerage system, since the one in use was in a deplorable condition and a constant menace to good health. Mr. McCowan maintained that dollars should not count when the lives and health of children and employees were endangered. Other recommendations in-

---

33. *Ibid.*, p. 1036.
34. 54 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 381, (1896).
35. 55 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 382, (1897).

cluded an electric lighting system, a large dining room and kitchen, and a guardhouse for unruly boys.

This period, 1886-1897, and the one from 1897-1908[36] were critical for the school, for frequent changes in superintendents tended to reduce the efficiency of the school by shortening constructive plans that should have been executed over a period of years. The above changes may have been due to many causes: for instance low salaries, incompatibility in dealing with the Indian office, investigations of such a nature as to interfere with the work of the school, promotions within the Indian service, and victims of the political spoils system.

A study of the changes made under the democratic regime from 1886-1897 indicates that politics[37] was possibly the major cause, since during the two terms of President Grover Cleveland (1885-1889; 1893-1897) and the intervening Harrison term (1889-1893), the school at Albuquerque was directed by three superintendents: Burke, Creager, and McCowan. From October 1886 to June 1897, a period of not quite eleven years, five other men held the office for brief transitional periods of a few weeks each; but the three named were chiefly responsible for the course of events and for any development that may be credited to these years.

---

36. The second period under government management from 1897-1908 will be treated in Chapter III.

37. An investigation by the Indian office of Supt. Creager was perhaps the cause of his withdrawal from the school.

## Chapter III

### Return of Republican Control (1897-1908)

As might have been expected after the republican party returned to the control of national affairs, there was a new appointment to the office of superintendent at Albuquerque, and there were others at about the same three-year interval. Between June, 1897, and February 1908, we find the superintendencies of four men: E. A. Allen, R. P. Collins, J. K. Allen, and B. B. Custer. Several other names appear, but, as in the preceding period, they were merely transitional.

The many changes from 1886-1908 indicate that they were due in large measure to the turn given the political situation, and since other governmental department administrators were admittedly removed because of their opposing political views, it is only reasonable to suppose that superintendents under the interior department were no exception. Though politics was perhaps the major issue, other causes sometimes operated.[1]

Hence on June 6, 1897, Edgar A. Allen succeeded S. M. McCowan as superintendent, and held this position for nearly three years until March 31, 1900. Mr. Allen's first year as an administrator was a trying one. In his report to the commissioner of Indian affairs he wrote that:

> Frequent changes of superintendents and employees have had the effect of unsettling the institution and very materially hindering its progress. The last change took away not only the superintendent and the matron, but also, the principal teacher, senior teacher,[2] disciplinarian, assistant disciplinarian, chief cook, shoemaker, and band teacher.
>
> Besides these transfers most of the older and better trained pupils were taken from us, leaving a new superintendent and a large proportion of

1. Burton B. Custer resigned to accept a position as superintendent of the warehouse in the Indian department at St. Louis, and Mr. Edgar A. Allen resigned for reasons unknown to the writer.

2. Teachers enter the Indian service according to such classification as primary, junior, or senior teacher.

new employees, and but few advanced pupils with which to conduct affairs.[3]

Mr. Allen reported that no class had yet graduated because the children remained only from one to five years, and very little could be accomplished in so short a time. Furthermore, it was almost impossible to secure children from the reservations and pueblos because counter influences were at work to keep them away.[4] For the next fiscal year, he recommended a new sewerage system, a new building for the carpenter shop, and one for shops and laundry costing $3,500.[5]

In his *Annual Report* for 1898, Mr. Allen was not entirely satisfied with the progress made, for two reasons: first, the shops were very poorly housed; and second, there had never been a course on instruction pursued by which the students could be systematically trained. Even with this adverse report, progress had been made. New ring baths had been installed; electric lights added, a new steel tower built; a new well dug; an appropriation made for a sewerage system;[6] and a number of blue ribbons awarded for the excellency of the Indian school exhibit at the territorial fair.[7]

In the *Annual Report,* 1899, Mr. Allen submitted as his most outstanding problem the reclaiming of the school farm. He stated that

> The task of reclaiming the school farm is a serious one. Old residents state that the land had

---

3. 55 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIII, 360-1, (1897). Cf., Perry, *Historical Sketch,* p. 5, (1914). Superintendent S. M. McCowan and his corps of employees were transferred to the Indian school at Phoenix, Arizona.

4. 55 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIII, 197, (1897). Perry, *Historical Sketch,* p. 5, (1914). "Most of the pupils were mixed Mexican and Indians, for whom the school was not established." The pueblo of Santa Clara was an exception. Their friendliness toward the school was due almost wholly to the influence of the lieutenant governor who was educated at the Albuquerque school, and to a former teacher who had married an Indian woman of the village. Cf., 55 Cong., sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XV, 339, (1898). In most cases the downpull of the tribe was greater than the uplift of the returned student.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.,* p. 9. "The system was installed by Superintendent Allen during the fiscal year, 1900, at a cost of $11,000. This was a great improvement and convenience to the school."

7. 55 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XV, 380, (1898).

> been used for the manufacture of adobe brick since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, until the citizens conceived the idea of presenting it to the government. No one ever had the temerity to attempt to cultivate it. Foot by foot, however, it is at great expense and labor being improved, and while this can never excel as an agricultural school, the land may in time be made to produce fairly well. The crop of alfalfa raised this year is much the best that has been produced, and the garden, while not quite so good as last year, would have been better had the spring not been so unfavorable.[8]

Mr. Allen recommended for the ensuing year an appropriation for a heating plant, a manual training building, and a domestic science building. At this time the capacity of the school was 300; the actual enrollment 321 with an average of 304 for a period of ten months. There were twenty-six employees. The per capita was $167, with a total expenditure of $42,907.03.[9] Mr. Allen resigned March 31, 1900, to be succeeded by M. F. Holland, supervisor, who served from April 1 to May 26.

On May 27 Ralph P. Collins was appointed superintendent at a salary of $1,700 per annum.

Superintendent Collins wrote that when he took charge the greater portion of the pupils enrolled were Navahoes, Pueblos, and Apaches. According to the new administration, industrial training was more important than academic or fine arts because such training enabled the future adult Indian an opportunity to earn money. Mr. Collins in his *Annual Report* wrote the Indian commissioner that "most time is given over to practical and useful work. Only enough attention is given to music and so-called accomplishments to serve as a diversion."[10]

A charge was made that most of the children enrolled were Mexicans, but the superintendent insisted that all could prove their Indian blood.[11]

---

8. 56 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XVIII, 409, (1899).
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 552-3.
10. 56 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XXVII, 494, (1900).
11. It is possible that a large per cent of the children were Mexicans since the majority of Indian parents were indifferent to educating their children.

average daily attendance of 315. The subsistence raised by the school was valued at $789.70. The per capita cost

At this time the Isleta children were most difficult of all to obtain. Mr. Collins reported a total enrollment of 335 with an average attendance of 317.61. This enrollment was greater than the capacity of the building. The school farm had increased in fertility over previous years. Recommendations for 1900 were general rather than specific.

> During the next few years, owing to the enrollment of the larger number of Mexican children and the inaccessibility of the school from the city of Albuquerque, the Department and the Indian Office seemed to lose interest in the institution and were inclined to abolish it.[12]

Mr. Collins used the outing system,[13] for he permitted the oldest boys to work in the beet fields and upon the railroads in the territory. He reported that a course of study was prepared for the industrial department. It must not have been broad enough in scope since Estelle Reel, superintendent of Indian schools, desired better provision for the teaching of industries, especially blacksmithing.[14] Coöperation among the employees was excellent; the social life was both pleasant and agreeable. There were thirty-four employees caring for an enrollment of 336 with an was $135.81 with a total cost to the government of $42,781.41.[15]

For the fiscal year, 1901-1902, Superintendent Collins made a determined effort to enroll only full-blood unprogressive Indians. Twenty Navahos were enrolled when the work was checked by a serious epidemic of diphtheria. The results for this year were unsatisfactory since every department was affected by the epidemic. There were 150 cases, but no deaths. This was a great record for the efficiency of the medical treatment.[16]

---

12. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 9, (1914).
13. The outing system (first used in the Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pa.—the system of hiring out the Indian children to responsible white people) was adopted by most boarding schools.
14. 57 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. 5, pt. 1, XXIII, 414, (1902).
15. 57 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XXIII, 676-7, (1902).
16. 57 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 254, (1903).

A shop, a warehouse, and a pumping plant were built at a cost of $6.000.[17] The total sum expended by the government for the year was $57,600[18] for an enrollment of 313.

Twenty-five boys were listed on the outing system to work in the beet fields of Colorado. These boys did well financially.[19]

Athletics became important at this time. The boys played some first-class games of baseball and football, while the girls met and defeated every basketball team of any note in the Territory of New Mexico.[20]

The services of Mr. Collins ended March 17, 1903, and the Indian office sent O. A. Wright, supervisor, on the eighteenth, to take charge; he remained until June 30. On the following day James K. Allen, a virile and able superintendent, assumed charge.

His arrival heralded a new life for the school. He stopped its threatened abolishment by enlisting the support of the commercial club and the citizens of Albuquerque in donating funds for the purchase of land to open a roadway from the school to Fourth street, and by persuading the Indian office to purchase land immediately east and west of the plant so that the school might have easy access to this road.[21] The crisis had been passed, a new building program was launched.

In his *Annual Report* for 1902-1903, Mr. Allen reviewed the school situation as he had found it. The plant consisted of about thirty buildings. Some were old and ill-arranged. The kitchen and dining room needed to be condemned and a new structure built; the laundry, built in 1885 and costing $900, was a cheap affair in the beginning. This building needed to be replaced by a newer and better equipped structure. Mr. Allen insisted that the most needed building had as yet found no place on the campus—a manual training building with sufficient floor space to care for

17. *Ibid.*, p. 434.
18. 57 Cong., 1 sess. Sen. Ex. Doc. 449, V. XXXII, p. 122, (1902).
19. Cf. reference 15, *supra.*
20. 57 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 254-5, (1903).
21. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 9, (1914).

all boys enrolled in the industrial department. Then, too, the water system was not complete, for the wells were probably contaminated with surface water. New wells could be sunk at a cost not exceeding $500. The heating plant was not up-to-date, since coal and wood stoves were used. The old system should be replaced by the cheaper and cleaner steam heat. The electric lighting system was the only one that was satisfactory. The Albuquerque Gas, Electric Light, and Power Company furnished electricity at a cost of $1,200 per annum.[22]

About one-third of the pupils having Mexican blood were discharged by June 30.[23] Only those of Mexican descent whose parents could prove Indian blood remained.[24] This discharge marked the second major crisis averted, for this determination of Mr. Allen's to fill the school with pure blood Pueblo and Navaho pupils reawakened the Indian office to a new sense of duty to the school that has continued to the present time.

The fiscal year, 1902-1903, ended with the school having a capacity of 300, an enrollment of 380, and an average daily attendance of 286,[25] and an employee force of thirty-one,[26] seven of whom were Indian. The superintendent received a salary of $1,700 a year, the physician $1,100, the chief clerk $1,000, and teachers' salaries ranged from $540 to $740.[27]

Mr. Allen turned next to the farm problem. The fiscal year, 1903-1904, was marked by his efforts to remedy the bad condition of the alkali soil. He believed that an abundance of water and ample drainage at considerable cost would reclaim the farm. Not only was this undertaken

22. 58 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 217, (1904).

23. 58 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 217, (1904).

24. A printed form, "Application for Enrollment," was used to record the name, age, parentage, and previous schooling of the child; the consent of parent or guardian for not less than three years; a physician's certificate of health; and an endorsement by an agent or superintendent.

25. *Annual Report*, p. 5 (1904). The low average attendance was possibly due to the fact that 216 Mexican pupils were discharged during the year and their places eventually filled from the Pueblo and Navaho tribes.

26. From an old copy found in the office files of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

27. 58 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 655, (1905).

but a recommendation was sent to the Indian office to purchase an additional thirty acres for vegetables and alfalfa, and to appoint a trained farmer who had made a scientific study of the management of alkali and adobe soils at a salary high enough to attract him.[28] The value of the produce raised during this year amounted to $1,197.11, costing $843.53 which left a net profit of $353.58, or an average of $23.53 an acre for the fifteen acres under cultivation.[29]

Mr. Allen recommended a gasoline or an electric pumping plant for irrigation to cost about $7000. It was impracticable to obtain water from the river for irrigating because the water was not obtainable and the cost of maintaining ditches from the river was prohibitive.[30]

During the year the housing problem became acute. A recommendation was made and an appropriation received for a new dining room and kitchen, a new laundry, and a new dormitory for boys.[31]

Public sentiment among the Navahos had become favorable to the school. So many Navaho children came that the total enrollment reached 348 with an average daily attendance at the close of the fiscal year, 1904, of 336. Of this number 313 were full blood. Progress in school was fair. About sixty per cent of the students were unable to speak or understand English. With the exception of a small class of older pupils the entire school was primary; however, a fine quality of workmanship was shown in the handicrafts.[32] Pottery work among the Pueblo girls was very good. William J. Oliver was sent to escort Indians

---

28. *Annual Report*, p. 10, (1904).

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Albuquerque Indian*, I, No. 4, p. 16, September (1905). Charles Goshen, a full blood Paiute Indian of the Walker River Reservation, Nevada, showed Indian patience by making an old time rabbit net 900 feet long, three feet wide, and made somewhat like a fish-net with about two and one-fourth inch meshes. A piece of milkweed, which grows about two and one-half feet tall, was used. Only the outer cover could be woven, and this was separated by hand. Two slender pieces were moistened and twisted by hand until it was slightly larger than a fishing line, but strong enough to support 100 pounds. About 16,000 feet of thread, four tons of weed to furnish enough fiber, and twelve months of labor including Sundays were required to complete the net.

with pottery to the World's Fair at St. Louis. Many of the girls who had been taught weaving were so anxious to weave blankets that they frequently used the legs of an ordinary chair for a loom and it was "no unusual occurrence in passing through the dormitory to find a number of chairs used as looms on which are unfinished blankets."[33]

Sanitary conditions of the plant were good. There was a large number of cases of diphtheria, but in a rather mild form. At this time Dr. Edwin L. Jones of Aguas Calientes, Mexico, was appointed under civil service rules as physician to the school at a salary of $1,000 a year.[34]

Congress in 1904 appropriated $50,100 for support and education of the Indian pupils, for the purchase of additional land, for the construction and furnishing of new buildings, for repair and equipment of present buildings, and for the improvement of the grounds.[35] An additional $3.500 was appropriated for improvements to the water supply.

The year was a successful one, and Mr. Allen was partially rewarded by an increase in salary of $100 a year.

In his *Annual Report,* 1904-1905, Mr. Allen wrote that the industrial work accomplished was very gratifying. Two large adobe buildings were constructed requiring several thousand adobe bricks which were made and laid by the Indian boys. So much progress was made in the blacksmith and carpenter shops that Mr. Allen proposed to add cabinet making the next year.[36] A part of the superintendent's huge building program was completed at this time: An adobe blacksmith shop, an adobe carpenter shop, a barn and several storerooms enlarged and remodeled, a new cow barn with cement floor, a school warehouse moved to the new site, a cold storage building, the old office building moved to the new site and turned into a mess hall and quarters for employees, and the building of fences around barnyards and corrals. Buildings under structure were:

---

33. 58 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 404, (1905).

34. Letter of A. B. Tanner, acting commissioner, to James K. Allen, March 2, 1904.

35. 58 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 404, (1905).

36. 59 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 262, (1906).

a laundry, a kitchen and mess hall, and a small boys' dormitory for housing 100 boys.[37]

Contracts had been made for securing additional land on the south and on the east sides of the school grounds in order to extend the lawns around the plant.

Literary work was good even though many pupils were fresh from reservations. Mr. Allen proposed to purchase a printing press and have the children publish monthly a small school paper, not to make printers of the children but to benefit them in acquiring spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation.[38]

Another important phase of school work that was developed to its greatest extent as far as local conditions permitted was the outing system. At various times during the year there were sixty-six boys and eight girls outing. Fifty-two boys were sent to the beet fields at Rocky Ford, Colorado, while the remainder worked on the railroad or for local farmers. The girls worked as domestics. The total net earnings for these children was $2,350.[39]

By this time, the Pueblos were becoming more friendly toward the school. The total enrollment had reached the 357 mark with an average daily attendance of 340. There were 325 full blood and only thirty-two of mixed blood. The Pueblos sent 219, the Navahos 127, the Apaches eight, and the Papago, Shawnee, and Wyandotte one each. Most of the pupils were desirable, showing little discontent during the entire year.[40]

Such a dynamic personality as Mr. Allen could not hope to carry out all of his major policies without opposition. His enemies pursued him relentlessly during the year 1905; as late as March 18, 1906, he had written to F. E. Roberson, Tohatchi, New Mexico, that he was still on the carpet and that a long strenuous hounding had been following him since the first of the year, but he felt that it was about closed. Evidently his enemies were unable to secure

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 261. For outing contract see appendix.

40. *Annual Report*, p. 7, (1905). On file in the office of the superintendent of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

his removal because he remained in charge until his death on May 27, 1906.

Under his direction the industrial department had become very efficient in developing the various trades. He had saved the school from being abolished by discharging the Mexican pupils, and by securing a road to Fourth Street. He had worked persistently to overcome the alkali condition of the soil, and had developed the outing system as far as local conditions would permit. His death was a great loss to the school.

Mrs. Allen took his place until the arrival of Supervisor Charles H. Dickson in June, who remained in charge until July 5, when he was relieved by the appointment of Burton B. Custer to the superintendency.

The *Annual Report* for 1905-1906 was rather brief. The warehouse had been destroyed by fire during the year, causing considerable loss and great inconvenience, and a contract had been awarded for a new warehouse. Many of the projects begun by Mr. Allen were completed: the dormitory, dining hall, office, two electric pumps (one for irrigation, the other for domestic purposes), a small light plant, and a new steam boiler for the power house.

The total value of the school farm and equipment amounted to $12,323.67. The land alone was appraised at $6,600.[41]

The outing system had been carried on to quite an extent since 100 boys and fourteen girls were outing during the year. The boys were under the supervision of the outing agent, Charles Dagenett, who sent them to work in the beet fields of Colorado and on the railroad. The girls worked in private families. The total amount of their earnings was $10,671.13.[42]

Superintendent Custer reported that very little had been done on the school farm for the fiscal year, 1906-1907, because the centrifugal pumps were not installed until late spring. However, the building program had moved forward. Perhaps the best warehouse in the service had just been

41. *Annual Report*, p. 13, (1906).
42. *Ibid.*

completed (a two-story brick building with an elevator) meeting every requirement. Many new sidewalks had been built. An entire new water system had been installed.[43] All installation work was done by the school. Work had just begun on a mess hall and kitchen and a small boys' building. A recommendation was made for a dormitory to be erected in 1908 for the large boys. Mr. Custer spent considerable time overseeing the construction work. He had forty men working on the grounds[44] besides the carpenter boys.

Except for an increased building program Mr. Custer left the school as he had found it (the school had neither gained nor lost by his superintendency). And, neither could the school expect to progress educationally, morally, or physically under his guidance for he lacked the vision that had characterized the administration of James K. Allen.

*(to be continued)*

43. *Albuquerque Morning Journal,* Sept. 25, 1907, p. 8, col. 2.

44. The water system included an electric triplex pump for domestic supply and a centrifugal pump for irrigation.

# THE USE OF SADDLES BY AMERICAN INDIANS

*By* D. E. WORCESTER*

THAT Indians always rode their horses bareback is a common American belief, but one without basis in fact. All of the tribes that had horses used saddles. The saddles were of two main types; the earliest used and most common was patterned after that of the Spaniards. It had a wooden tree and iron or rawhide-covered wooden stirrups. The other type was composed merely of leather-covered pads of animal hair, generally with stirrups of wood or of rope. Some Indian saddles had a pommel of deer, elk, or buffalo horn for hitching a rope. When Indians wanted to extend their horses to the limit, they sometimes rode with nothing but a robe over the animal's back.

The Apaches, one of the first of the Southwestern tribes to acquire horses, copied Spanish riding gear whenever they could not obtain saddles and bridles actually made by Spaniards. They used bridles with Spanish bits, and had iron stirrups on their saddles. Leather armor for themselves and their mounts was also very similar to that used by the Spanish soldiers of New Mexico.

The early French accounts of the Touacara (Wichita) Indians on the Arkansas river mentioned saddles and bridles, very well made, as well as leather armor.[1]

A description of the Hasinai Indians by Pénicaut in 1714, told of their riding gear:

> They have no other curb or bridal for their horses than a piece of hair-rope; their stirrups are made of the same material, which are fastened to deer-skin, three or four in thickness, thus forming their saddle.[2]

---

*The opinions contained herein are the private ones of the writer, and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the naval service at large. D. E. WORCESTER, Lt. SC USNR

1. P. Margry. *Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire des origenes francaises des pays d'outre-mer,* (Paris, 1879-1888, 6v.). vi. 294.

2. B. F. French, ed., *Historical collections of Louisiana and Florida . . .* (New York, 1869). 121.

The Indians of the Southeast acquired horses from the Spanish settlements in Florida, and they consequently borrowed the Spanish style of saddles and bridles. The Cherokees, though not the first Southern Indians to possess Spanish horses, were found in the 1770s to make saddles:

> They are good sadlers, for they can finish a saddle with their usual instruments, without any kind of iron to bind the work; but the shape of it is so antiquated and mean, and so much like those of the Dutch West-Indians, that a person would be led to imagine they had formerly met, and been taught the art in the same school. The Indians provide themselves with a quantity of white oak boards, and notch them, so as to fit the saddle-trees; which consist of two pieces before, and two behind crossing each other in notches, about three inches below the top end of the frame. Then they take a buffalo green hide, covered with its winter curls, and having properly shaped it to the frame, they sew it with large thongs of the same skin, as tight and secure as need be; when it is thoroughly dried, it appears to have all the properties of a cuirass saddle. A trimmed bearskin serves for a pad; and formerly, their bridle was only a rope around the horse's neck, with which they guided him at pleasure. Most of the Choktah use that method to this day.[3]

When Anthony Hendry visit the Blackfeet in Canada in 1754, they had many horses. At night the animals were turned out to graze, tied by long thongs of buffalo hide to stakes driven into the ground. They had hair halters, buffalo-skin pads, and stirrups of the same material.[4] Alexander Henry commented on the saddles of the North Plains Indians around 1800:

> The saddles those people use are of two kinds. The one which I suppose to be of the most ancient construction is made of wood well joined and covered with raw buffalo hide, which in drying binds every part tight. The frame rises about ten

---

3. S. C. Williams, ed., *Adair's History of the American Indians,* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1930), 457.

4. L. J. Burpee, ed., *The Search for the Western Sea . . .* (New York, 1908), 130.

> inches before and behind; the tops are bent over horizontally and spread out, forming a flat piece about six inches in diameter. The stirrup, attached to the frame by a leather thong, is a piece of bent wood, over which is stretched raw buffalo hide, making it firm and strong. When an Indian is going to mount he throws his buffalo robe over the saddle, and rides on it. The other saddle which is the same as that of the Assiniboines and Crees, is made by shaping two pieces of parchment on dressed leather, about twenty inches long and fourteen broad, through the length of which are sewed two parallel lines three inches apart, on each side of which the saddle is stuffed with moose or red deer hair. Under each kind of saddle is placed two or three folds of soft dressed buffalo skin to keep the horse from getting a sore back.[5]

French traders who visited the Crees, learned as early as 1753 that horses and saddles could be obtained from that tribe.[6] In 1790 the Mandans were known to use saddles and bridles of Spanish style.

The Crow Indians had many horses, and were said to be skilful in the making of saddles.

> Their [the children's] saddles are so made as to prevent falling either backwards or forwards, the hind part reaching as high as between the shoulders and the forepart of the breast. The women's saddles are more especially so. Those of the men are not quite so high, and many use saddles such as the Canadians make in the North West Country.
>
> They are excellent riders. . . . In war or hunting if they mean to exert their horses to the utmost the[y] ride without a saddle. In their wheelings and evolutions they are often not seen, having only a leg on the horse's back and clasping the horse with their arms around his neck, on the opposite side to where the enemy is. Most of their horses can be guided to any place without bridle only by leaning to one side or the other[;] they

---

5. E. Coues, ed., *New Light on the early history of the greater Northwest. The manuscript journals of Alexander Henry* . . . (New York, 1897, 3v.), ii, 526.

6. Margry. *op. cit.*, vi 650-1.

> turn immediately to the side on which you lean, and will not bear turning until you resume a direct posture.[7]

In 1787, David Thompson saw about thirty horses that the Piegans had taken in a raid on a Spanish caravan far to the south of their country, and he described the Spanish saddles:

> The saddles were larger than our english saddles, the side leather twice as large of thick well tanned leather of a chocolate color with the figures of flowers as if done by a hot iron, the bridles had snaffle bits, heavy and coarse as if done by a blacksmith with only his hammer.[8]

West of the Rocky Mountains the Indians used the same methods in making saddles as those of the tribes previously mentioned. Sergeant Gass, one of the members of the Lewis and Clark expedition, left this description of the saddles of the Walla Wallas found near the Koos-Kooshe river:

> The frames of their saddles are made of wood nicely jointed, and then covered with raw skins, which when they become dry, bind every part tight, and keep the joints in their places. The saddles rise very high before and behind, in the manner of the saddles of the Spaniards, from whom they no doubt received the form. . . . When the Indians are going to mount they throw their buffalo robes over the saddles and ride on them, as the saddles would otherwise be too hard.[9]

G. Franchere observed the Salishans, and made a detailed account of their saddles.

> For a bridle they use a cord of horse-hair, which they attach round the animals mouth; with that he is easily checked, and by laying the hand on his neck, is made to wheel to this side or that. The saddle is a cushion of stuffed deer-skin, very

7. L. J. Burpee, ed., *Journal of Larocque from the Assiniboine to the Yellowstone, 1805* (Ottawa, 1910), 64.

8. J. B. Tyrrell, ed., *David Thompson's narrative of his explorations in western America, 1784-1812* (Toronto, 1916), 371.

9. P. Gass, *Gass' journal of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Chicago, 1904). 235-236.

> suitable for the purpose to which it is destined, rarely hurting the horse, and not fatiguing its rider so much as our European saddles. The stirrups are pieces of hardwood, ingeniously wrought, and of the same shape as those which are used in civilized countries. They are covered with a piece of deer-skin which is sewed on wet, and in drying stiffens and becomes hard and firm. The saddles for women differ in form, being furnished with the antler of a deer, so as to resemble the high pommelled saddle of the Mexican ladies. . . . The form of the saddles used by the females, proves that they have taken their pattern from the Spanish ones. . . .[10]

From the above accounts it can be inferred that the Indians of the horse-using tribes of the present United States generally used saddles. Probably the widespread belief that Indians were bareback riders grew out of some artists' conceptions of Indian horsemen. The Hollywood version of the American redskin has followed the erroneous notion that saddles were unknown to the Indians. Actually there were very skillful saddle-makers among all the horse-using tribes, and very few instances when Indians chose to ride without saddles.

---

10. R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early western travels, 1748-1846 . . .* (Cleveland, 1904-07, 32v.), vi, 340-341.

# FROM LEWISBURG TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849

## Notes from the Diary of William H. Chamberlin

*(continued)*

*Edited by* Lansing B. Bloom

---

### CHAPTER VIII

Wednesday, June 13.—We are within six miles of the old Santa Fe gold placer; some of our men visited it; found some emigrants encamped there; they took a small basin with them, and in one washing procured at least fifty cents worth of pure gold.[40] Time passes very tediously when lying in camp in such a desolate country as this.

Thursday, June 14.—Green, Howard and myself returned to Santa Fe to-day, for the purpose of purchasing a few articles we had forgotten, and procuring additional information regarding our route. A large company that had started on the Spanish trail have returned, finding it impossible to cross the streams, which are very much swollen. They lost a great deal of baggage and provisions in their unsuccessful attempts; they are preparing to go the southern route.

Friday, June 15.—Lodged during the night at the U. S. hotel. Had a cot but no bedding. The fleas which abound here, annoyed me very much, and I passed a restless night. Indulged in a glass of what they call ice cream (it deserved no such name), and paid 50 cents for it. Left town about 12 o'clock to-day, and reached camp about sundown, a distance of 30 miles. Met some very heavy trading teams, on their way to town from Chihuahua.[41]

Saturday, June 16.—Had a slight shower last night, which is the first rain that has fallen upon us for months. The rainy season is about setting in here, which lasts until some time in August. Everything here appears to be suffering from drought. Find employment in fitting up our packs, and arranging to start on the morrow. Our packs do not average more than 150 pounds to each animal. The

---

40. On the placers, see note 34 *supra*. The best description of them comes from Wizlizenus, quoted by Twitchell, *Leading Facts of N. Mex. History*, II, 180-2, note 123.

41. Evidently the road east through Tijeras Cañon and north through the mountains to Santa Fé was then more in favor than the older road which continued north from Albuquerque and then reached the higher level by way either of the Rio de Galisteo or the Rio de Santa Fé.

Mexicans frequently pack from 300 to 400. We are anxious to move.

Sunday, June 17.—Did not start this morning, on account of Walter Winston, who returned to Santa Fe, to remain there until he recovers from a severe asthma, which he has been afflicted with since the early part of the journey. The Louisiana mess came up and encamped with us to-day. We now number about the same as before.[42]

Monday, June 18.—After a long delay, everything being in readiness we started about 9 o'clock this morning. The Virginia mess had a great deal of difficulty, their packs falling off, turning, etc.; they packed upon "aparahoes," and we had Indian pack-saddles, the latter are more simple and suited our purpose better, not being skilled in the art.[43] We travelled a few miles up the valley, then took a S.W. course through the mountains, following a trail. Found no water until we reached the new placers, where we encamped. These mines are said to yield abundantly, but owing to the scarcity of water, they cannot be worked to advantage. At present, the few men that are at work, employ Mexicans to pack the water up, upon asses, a distance of three miles. I saw a vial full of the ore, that was worth $177. A few days ago, a man found two pieces that weighed $19.20. There are a number of miserable adobe buildings here, and about 150 inhabitants. We saw an old mountaineer here, whom we endeavored to employ as guide; but he said he would rather roam through the mountains, with his rifle, and when hungry kill a deer, lay beside it and eat until satisfied, and then continue on his lonely way; traveling with mules, he said, looked too much like work. Procured some eggs, milk and fresh bread here; very poor grazing. Distance, 20 miles—902.

Tuesday, June 19.—Started about 12 o'clock. The road is tolerably good; the country very mountainous. Passed through San Pedro,[44] a small ranchero containing about a dozen houses, about sixty acres of land under cultivation; the wheat looks well, about 15 inches high. Encamped near a ranch, where we found a spring of water, but no grass.

42. For the number and personnel, see the entry of May 4 *supra*.

43. The *aparejo* was of Spanish origin and consisted of a wide leather pad, stuffed with hay or grass, which went across the back of the animal and some distance down the sides. It was secured by a cinch made of grass or leather and drawn as tight as possible. See Davis, *El Gringo*, 77. Just what the difference was between Spanish and Indian types is not clear.

44. This San Pedro must have been a little settlement near San Pedro Mountain, passed before they reached San Antonio. Lieut. J. W. Albert (Oct., 1846) visited San Pedro and a nearby copper mine, not then being worked. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, 182-3, note 124.

Saw some pine to-day, and a few oak saplings. This place is called San Antonio. There is an American living here, who is very comfortably situated in his adobe house; he raises grain, vegetables, etc., and makes lumber by horse power, for which he finds a ready market at Santa Fe. Distance, 15 miles—917.

Wednesday, June 20.—Our course S.W., through the mountains. We passed through San Antonio, containing about 150 inhabitants, and San Pedro, of about the same size.[45] We traveled down the bed of a dry stream for several miles, and through some cañons, the mountains on either side towering above the clouds. About 1 o'clock we emerged upon a large plain, sloping westward to the waters of the Rio Grande; here we had a beautiful display of that strange phenomena of nature, "mirage." We imagined we distinctly saw the waters of the river, long before we came in sight of it, which we did not reach until 5 o'clock.[46] We encamped on the flat, near the town of Albuquerque.[47] This noble river, so celebrated in history of late years, is nearly a mile wide at this point.[48] Its waters have been higher this season than ever known before, and although considerably abated, is still very much swollen, and more than bank full in many places. A pack-mule company of 80 men are about crossing at this place; they ferry their baggage and swim their mules.[49] The current is very swift, the water cold, and of a muddy or turbid nature. Albuquerque contains about 300 inhabitants and is the most cleanly, respectable looking Mexican village we have yet seen. There is a detachment of U. S. soldiers quartered here. Two American gentlemen, Messrs. West and Beard, from Kentucky, settled here two years ago. They purchased the governor's palace

---

45. The mention of San Pedro after passing San Antonio must have been a slip by Chamberlin. Probably he meant Tijeras, where the road emerged in the main cañon and turned west, winding down towards the Rio Grande and Albuquerque.

46. With the seasonal high water of late June, there is little doubt that they did actually see the river; they were fooled simply by thinking it was nearer than it really was.

47. This was Old Town, of course. New Albuquerque did not spring up until the coming of the railroad in the 1880's.

48. "Nearly a mile wide" shows how the river impressed the diarist; and anyone who has seen and heard the Rio Grande when it is "rolling along" in flood can appreciate his sensations.

49. So far as known, there was no bridge at this time at any point of the Rio Grande in New Mexico. Some attempt at bridging was made in Spanish and Mexican times, but probably the first permanent bridge was a military bridge at Bernalillo in Civil War times—a crude but sturdy piece of work which served for some sixty years, until replaced by a modern bridge. See L. B. Bloom, *Early Bridges in New Mexico* (Papers, School of American Research, Santa Fé).

and expect to make a fortune in a few years.[50] Labor is worth from $3 to $4 per month here, out of which the man is obliged to board himself. There is no wood in the neighborhood of the place, and it is worth about $30 per American cord; we paid $1.50 for enough to cook our supper and breakfast. The tillable land (what there is of it) produces well, and large herds of cattle, horses, mules, sheep and goats, feed upon the grass along the banks of the river; vegetables grow well here, and fruit comes to the greatest perfection. Distance, 25 miles—942.

Thursday, June 21.—Woke up this morning with my face very much swollen, caused by sleeping upon the damp ground, which had lately been overflowed. This morning a Dutchman by the name of John Franklin joined our company; he was very anxious to travel with us, being alone, and we took him along, more out of compassion than any other consideration. (He was a Polander by birth, and proved a very good fellow.) Started down the river this morning, which runs a due southern course. For the most part of the time we traveled through very heavy sand beds and hills, which was drifting, and almost suffocated us at times. This is the nature of the high ground on the east

---

50. By "the governor's palace" is meant the residence in Old Alburquerque of ex-Governor Manuel Armijo. Lieut. W. H. Emory, en route with General Kearny for California, entered in his *Notes of a Military Reconnoisance*, p. 46:

> At Albuquerque I was directed to call and see Madame Armijo, and ask her for the map of New Mexico, belonging to her husband, which she had in her possession. I found her ladyship sitting on an ottoman smoking, after the fashion of her country-women, within reach of a small silver vase filled with coal. She said she had searched for the map without success; if not in Santa Fé, her husband must have taken it with him to Chihuahua.

The above visit was made late in September of 1846; if the purchase here mentioned was made two years before Chamberlin saw the town, it would appear that the sale was effected in 1847 and therefore before the end of the Mexican War. However, other facts make it improbable that the deal could have occurred before the winter of 1848-49. From 1849 and until his death in 1854, Manuel Armijo made his residence in Lemitar, some miles north of Socorro.

The West here mentioned is, we are inclined to believe, Elias P. West who was one of the thirteen men who constituted the Convention of October 10, 1848 in Santa Fé. W. G. Ritch, in his *Blue Book*, shows him as attorney general in 1848-52 and U. S. attorney in 1851-53.

By "Beard," Chamberlin probably means Spruce M. Baird, although "Judge" Baird (as he was generally known) did not arrive in New Mexico until November 1848. If he was from Kentucky, he came by way of Texas—for he arrived with a commission from the authorities of that state to organize into counties of Texas all that part of New Mexico which lay east of the Rio Grande and to which the Republic of Texas (in 1836) had asserted boundary claims. The military commandant at Santa Fé bluntly advised him not to attempt to carry out this object. Baird reported the situation back to the Texas authorities, and then apparently decided to settle down in New Mexico. Various data indicate that he located in Albuquerqúe, although W. W. H. Davis was entertained overnight at his ranch down the valley towards Peralta. See *El Gringo* (1938 ed.), p. 197.

side of the river. As far as the eye can reach nothing but a bleak, barren continuation of sand hills is visible. We encamped this evening in a cottonwood grove, near a pool of water; had pretty good grazing for our animals. There is a large Mexican ranch near us, fine vineyard, fruit trees, etc.; the grove reminds me of an old Pennsylvania apple orchard—all but the fruit. Captain Jennifer lost his pack mule this morning, with all his effects, and broke down his riding mule in search of it. Assembled this evening for the purpose of reorganizing our company, and electing a captain, Major Green's term of office having expired when we reached the Rio Grande. After agreeing upon certain rules and regulations for the government of the company, James H. Dixon, of Baton Rouge, La., was duly nominated and elected captain, until we reached the "diggings." Distance, 21 miles—963.

Friday, June 22.—Today we passed through Puerto,[51] and several smaller Mexican towns, which are scarcely worth a description, having about the same appearance and characteristics; saw some Indians along the river, who I suppose live upon fish; their huts consist of a few poles set upright, and tied together at the top, over which are thrown a few loose skins; they are almost naked, and are wretched looking objects.[52] The channel of the river frequently narrows to 150 yards, where it runs very rapid, boiling, foaming and roaring, as its turbulent waters rush along. The sand hills frequently extend into the river, obliging us to cross them, and at times we cannot find the road for the drifting sand. We encamped on a flat, on the bank of the Rio Grande, where we had pretty good grazing for our stock, but were very much annoyed by mosquitoes, which swarm along the river in myriads, ready to attack any "flesh and blood" that may come in their way. Distance, 25 miles—988.

Saturday, June 23.—After passing a sleepless night, we were called up at 4 o'clock this morning; brought up our mules, eat breakfast, packed, and started at 6. Passed through Sabino,[53] and other Mexican towns. Very unwell today; suffered very much from cold in my head, and a

---

51. They were keeping down the east side of the river, and in "Puerto" we should probably recognize "Peralta," although the distance from Albuquerque is somewhat overstated.

52. We infer that these were Indians of the pueblo of Isleta who were out in their summer shelters—to protect their corn and melons from '49ers and other passers-by.

53. He doubtless means Sabinal, although that town was on the west side of the river. Perhaps he confused it with La Joya.

bealed jaw, which produced a severe headache. I had a chill during the forenoon, and notwithstanding the sun was almost insufferably hot to the others, I was compelled to wear my overcoat. In the afternoon I had a smart fever, and frequently felt as though I would fall from my horse; I longed to reach an encamping place, which we did not find until dark. We stopped at noon on the bank of the river, where the grass appeared very good, but after unpacking and turning our stock loose to graze, we found that they would not eat it, being of a salty nature; we were exposed to the rays of a burning sun, without a particle of shade, and almost devoured by famished mosquitoes; they also attacked our stock, which threatened to "stampede;" and we were soon glad to repack, and continue our toilsome journey. Encamped near a small Mexican town,[54] where we were supplied by the inhabitants with eggs at 3 bits a dozen, and goat's milk at 2 bits a quart. I was pretty near a "used-up" lad when I reached camp. Distance, 35 miles—1023.

Sunday, June 24.—Remained in camp today. I busied myself in reading Emory's Route from the Rio Grande to California;[55] the journey is a more perilous one than I had any idea of, having never read a description of the Gila river route before. The citizens of the town have got up a Fandango this evening for our especial benefit, and invited all hands. After supper we started up. The señoretas did not make their "entree" until 9 o'clock. We found many of the inhabitants sleeping outside their dwellings for comfort, with small fires beside them to drive away the mosquitos. All the dwellings, walls, fences, etc., we have yet seen in New Mexico are composed of adobes. We frequently see the women upon the flat house tops, in the evening, with a shawl over their heads (their only headdress), reminding me of Bible descriptions of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the east. Their agricultural implements are of the rudest kind; the most important article is a large steel hoe, (brought from the States), with which they build houses, cultivate crops, etc. It answers the several purposes of shovel, trowel and hoe. Their plow consists of a

54. The party was still on the east side of the Rio Grande, and from the following notes it is evident that this little town was across from Lemitar,—although the distance from Albuquerque (81 miles) is again overstated.

55. Young Chamberlin had gotten hold of a copy of Senate Executive Document No. 7, of the 30th Congress, 1st Session. This was *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers*, by W. H. Emory. It had been published in Washington in 1848, only the year before these '49ers had started their journey.

simple piece of crooked timber, with one handle, to which they attach a yoke of oxen, and stir up the earth. Their wagons are a more clumsy, uncouth looking machine than I could have imagined. The wheels are cut out of a solid log, and the whole cart is made without an ounce of iron.

Monday, June 25.—Reached Tome about 9 o'clock this morning, and prepared to cross the river.[56] It is about 250 yards wide, and very rapid, at this point. The ferryman owned a large "dug out," in which ourselves and baggage were crossed in safety, for the trifling sum of $8; we gave several Mexicans $3 to swim over with our animals. Everything was landed upon the opposite side, which occupied the remainder of the day, and we encamped upon the bank; slept within ten feet of the water and had a cool breeze off the river. Exchanged saddles with a Mexican today. Distance, 6 miles—1029.

Tuesday, June 26.—Started early; passed through Lamatad [Lemitar], which is situated opposite Tome. After traveling a few miles, encamped within a short distance of Socoro;[57] but finding the grazing poor, we concluded to move to town, which we did this evening and encamped on the river, half a mile from the place, where we found good grass. We intend remaining here a day or two, to purchase and exchange mules, hire a guide to the Gila river, and supply ourselves with a few necessary articles, preparatory to setting out upon our yet long and somewhat hazardous journey, this being the last place of any consequence we will meet with. Distance, 8 miles—1037.

Wednesday, June 27.—Socoro contains about 200 or 300 inhabitants. There is a company of U. S. dragoons stationed here. The flat on the river here is almost a mile wide, affording a good stock range. There appears to be but little land under cultivation about the place. The Mexicans are very indolent, and would rather starve "a little" than work; the amount of food necessary to keep an American alive, would feast half a dozen "greasers." Socoro is a poor, destitute place. Some of our company succeeded in getting a little coarse corn melt [meal] at $6 per cwt. We exchanged seven pick axes, that we had brought from home for 4 pounds of sugar, the lot; jerked buffalo meat, 25 cents per pound;[58] no mules for sale or barter;

---

56. This is another confusion of placenames, for the only known "Tomé" had been passed a few miles south of Peralta.

57. It is interesting to find Chamberlin following Emory's *Notes* (Oct. 5, 1846 *et seq.*) in the spelling of "Socorro."

58. "Jerked buffalo meat" as a commodity for sale would suggest that considerable amounts were regularly packed in from the distant plains country to the east.

we can procure no guide at this place. A heavy shower threatened us, but ended in a gust of wind. Mr. Aubrey's teams came up, and encamped on the opposite side of the river.[59] The Virginian exchanged some animals with him.

Thursday, June 28.—Did not strike camp until 10 o'clock. When passing through Socoro, the mule that Fernando was riding threw him. "He thought himself killed," but after examining, we found that he was not seriously hurt; settled with him, gave him a present of five dollars, and left him in charge of a nurse. Continued our course down the river, passing through Lopez and San Antonio.[60] I met an old Mexican wood dealer, who offered me the best mule in his "caballada" and an old carbine, made in Lancaster, Pa., for my rifle. I needed the mule, but after a second thought, concluded not to part with my old friend. We tried to exchange our horses for mules at San Antonio, but the "greaser" asked two prices for his animals, and we were rather scarce on funds. We encamped on the river; had good grass, lots of mosquitoes, and used up a Mexican sheep-fold for fuel. Cloudy during the day, with a slight sprinkle of rain, which continued all night. Distance, 24 miles—1061.

Friday, June 29.—Remained in camp today. Engaged a Spaniard at San Antonio, to guide us as far as the Gila river, for which we are to pay him $60. We are anxious to be on the way, but our stock needs recruiting, and we are obliged to give them time. This evening we were "drawn out in military order" for the purpose of inspecting fire-arms, as we are soon to enter the country of the Apache Indians, and it is thought prudent to be on the lookout. We number 33 persons, and can fire 113 rounds at one discharge, besides which, we are pretty well armed with knives, etc. We also passed resolutions, with regard to the order of traveling, which will do "if observed." Our stock numbers 85 head, which we purpose driving in three separate gangs, but as compact as possible; two men are to ride some distance in advance of the company, as a "front guard," and four behind, as a "rear guard," the balance to lead and drive the mules. If any are obliged to

59. The better road for wagons continued down the east side and so reached the old stretch across the Jornada del Muerto. The lack of any further comment on Aubry suggests that he was heading for California with freight. Foreman (*op. cit.*, 265) quotes from a letter dated June 12, 1849 at "Rio Suienna" (?), about 60 miles from Santa Fè: ". . . The American merchants at Santa Fè have sent on a large train of wagons and pack mules to California . . ."

60. "Lopez" is not identified, but San Antonio was the site of an early Piro pueblo and of a Franciscan mission from the early seventeenth century.

stop to arrange packs, etc., the rear guard is not to pass them, but remain until this is done. A night watch to be appointed by the captain, whatever number may be required, to be on duty two hours each, also a person from each mess, to guard the stock, morning and evening, while grazing. Our guide came on this morning, but rain prevented our starting today.

---

## CHAPTER IX

Saturday, June 30.—Rain during the night, very disagreeable; having no tent, or any kind of shelter, it is with difficulty we manage to keep our baggage and provisions dry. Started at 10 o'clock and travelled until 6, down the western side of the river. There is nothing but a trail to follow, and it would be impossible for wagons to get along here. The bottom land along the river becomes narrower as we travel down, and in many places the bluffs or table lands extend to the bank of the river. The country extending back is very broken and ends in a lofty chain of mountains; the appearance is very barren, but a short, dry grass grows here, which affords good pasture for sheep. The hills and plains are covered with a great variety of mezquite and other bushes, plants and flowers peculiar to the country, which are apparently all of a stunted growth. As we proceed down the river, the growth of cotton wood on its banks becomes more extensive, by which we can see the course of the river when a great distance from it. We encamped on the bank, where we had plenty of grass, wood and water. We are obliged to use the water of the Rio Grande, which would be excellent if filtered; the current carries a great quantity of sand with it, which makes the water dirty. Distance, 28 miles—1089.

Sunday, July 1.—Several very heavy showers last night; ourselves, blankets and everything else completely saturated. It was very cold during the night, which made it still worse. We suffered "awfully" and this morning look like a set of "drowned rats." We are obliged to lay by to-day for the purpose of drying out. The sun is favoring us by shining out clear and warm. By 10 o'clock our baggage was dry and ready for packing, but the majority of the company preferred lounging in camp to travelling. We are now out of the "settlements," our stock of provisions is light, and we can procure no more until we reach California. With the many examples of suffering and starvation on similar trips before us, it appears to me that it should be of the utmost importance to improve every

moment that we can, without injury to our stock; but many persons are so indifferent to the future that they will not act until forced by "stern necessity." By Lieut. Emory's description, we suppose we are encamped upon the spot where Gen. Kearney stopped several days to pack and send his wagons back to Santa Fe; it is opposite Fra Christobal mountain, and the flat contains about 200 acres.

Monday, July 2.—Started at 7 o'clock this morning and made a pretty hard day's march; heat very oppressive. We kept down the river, but for the most part of the day [our trail] was over the bluffs and through the arroyos that extend into it. The ascent and descent was very steep and rocky, which fatigued some of our stock and the packs frequently became disarranged; some of the company came into camp long after the main body. Game is very scarce; grass tolerable. Distance, 30 miles—1119.

Tuesday, July 3.—Travelled down the river 12 miles, and then bid farewell to the muddy waters of the Rio Grande del Norte, without a regret, although the road before us will no doubt be more difficult, and toil and suffering may be in store for us. Where we turned off there is a small flat, a high mountain on the opposite side, and the river cañons immediately below. We suppose this is the place where Gen. Kearney left the Rio Grande. Our course is now S.W. We ascended a very high bluff and the country for some distance appeared level, but we soon found out to the contrary. We crossed some very deep and difficult arroyos, which was very fatiguing to ourselves and animals. Encamped in one of these tremendous gulches, at a distance of 12 miles from the Rio Grande. The water is very fine, warm when we stopped but cooled after sun-down; it is the best we have used for a long while. There is a variety of trees in this ravine, among them oak and walnut, both the trunks and fruits of which would be considered a burlesque upon the same species in Pennsylvania.[61] We caught a few small fish in the stream, which tasted "natural." The water sinks a short distance below our camp. The country along the Rio Grande, at this point, is very broken but does not present as forbidding an aspect as those vast plains along the Canadian river. There is here a good deal of timber in the ravines and the plains are covered with a variety of shrubbery, cactus, beargrass and gramma, a species of dry grass which is said to be very nutritious feed for animals. Distance, 24 miles—1143.

Wednesday, July 4.—No firing of cannon, ringing of

---

61. The description sounds as if the party was here in Nogal Cañon.

bells, or other demonstration of joy this morning in this wild glen, to remind us, as formerly, of the dawn of the anniversary of our national birthday. Instead of making preparations to celebrate this ever welcome holiday in a manner most agreeable to ourselves, we are obliged to pack up, and be under way at 7 o'clock. Instead of listening to a patriotic oration, or joining in a picnic on the green amidst the fair forms and sweet smiles of the dear girls, the incessant "huppah mulah" is ringing in our ears as we plod along over the barren waste, or wend our way up and down the rocky heights. Instead of a bounteous dinner with our friends, or indulging in ice cream, mint julips, etc., we are confined to a scanty allowance of the bare necessaries of life, and wretched water from our heated canteens; and instead of being with and amongst our friends and acquaintances, enjoying all we are wont to do on similar occasions, we are an isolated band of adventurers, far away from civilization, in the midst of a savage country, inhabited by Indians, who are noted for their warlike and thievish propensities. But all this does not discourage us, although before starting from home we expected to eat a Fourth of July dinner in San Francisco. Our course is "westward," our watchword "onward," and we are determined as ever in prosecuting our journey, in hopes of reaching our destination, at least, "before the close of the year." The general appearance of the country much as yesterday. We stopped at noon in a small valley covered with tule, in which there was a pond of water.[62] Capt. Dixon called us together, as he said, to give us a 4th of July speech, instead of which, he tendered his resignation as captain of the company, saying that he had been elected for a week, and more than that time had expired. There was some misunderstanding about the matter. However, we elected him over again by a unanimous vote. When about leaving our nooning place, we were visited by a smart shower. Some of our stock is already "jaded," and we are determined to lighten our packs by abandoning every article we can dispense with. This evening we made a bon fire of books, clothing, etc. We have tolerable water at this encampment, and our stock is feeding upon gramma. Distance, 20 miles—1163.

Thursday, July 5.—Ascending a long, narrow valley this morning, with a broken range of mountains on either side; at the head of this gentle slope we found a spring of cool, delicious water, and also met a family of Apaches. They were apparently much frightened on first seeing

---

62. Perhaps we may identify this stop with the "Lake Valley" of today.

us, but saluted us in Spanish with the word "buena" (good), and made many signs of friendship. We returned the salutation, after which they came up to us. They spoke Spanish pretty well, and Capt. Dixon held a long talk with them, through our guide and interpreter. They said that any number of Americans could pass through their country without molestation, if they (the Americans) did not first give offense or trespass upon their natural rights. How much this can be relied upon is unknown, for they are said to be very deceitful Indians. I have no doubt, however, that in more than half the difficulties with the Indians, their enemies are the first aggressors. There was eight in number—the old chief, his squaw, and children, all mounted on ponies; they had one gun, and all were armed with bows and arrows. Their dress was similar to that of the Indians on the frontiers of the States, except the blankets and some other articles, which were of Mexican manufacture. They were all bare-headed. The old squaw rode astride her animal, with a large basket of pannier lashed on each side, in one of which lay a papoose, as well contented as though rocked in the finest cradle of the east, encased with down. Their moccasins were beautiful, made of buff buckskin, and displayed a good bit of skill in the manufacture. After leaving the spring we crossed a high, dividing ridge, and descending by an indifferent trail through a long, rocky defile, between the mountains, for a distance of 10 miles. Our animals suffered severely and Mr. Burrell abandoned his riding horse, which had become entirely useless. We met several Mexicans driving a lot of sore-backed, broken-down horses and mules, which we suppose they had picked up along the trail, having been abandoned by parties of emigrants in advance of us. They have no doubt been brought here from the States, and if grazed for a few months will make first-rate stock. Encamped on the Rio Mimbres, a small mountain stream of clear, excellent water. We caught some of the trout which abound in it; they do not resemble the mountain trout of the States, being a black, scaly fish, and take the bait very freely. Our encampment is at the foot of the Dome—a mountain so named by Lieut. Emory, which is very appropriate from its peculiar shape.[63] There is a fine growth of grass on the flat, at which our stock is feasting. The Rio Mimbres is skirted with cottonwood, walnut and other timber. For several

---

63. This landmark was doubtless what is better known as "Cooke's Peak." Cooke brought his famous wagon-train this way some weeks later than Emory made his notes.

days we have been giving away, abandoning and making bon fires of as many articles as we conclude we can dispense with, for the purpose of reducing our packs. Our guide has "cached" a great many goods which we have given him, and intends packing them home on his return. He will be better supplied with cooking utensils, tools, clothing, etc., than any Spaniard I saw in New Mexico. Rain this evening. Distance, 22 miles—1185.

Friday, July 6.—On account of rain we did not start until 3 o'clock p.m. This morning we were visited by 12 Apaches, mounted upon fine ponies, armed with lances, bows, and arrows and knives. Some of our men showed an eagerness to trade with them, which they took advantage of and we could not effect a single exchange. We gave them a number of small presents and they remained about our camp until we started. One of the men wore an American officer's "military undress" coat, for which he said he had given a fine mule. He appeared very dignified in his foreign dress. We took a trail to the left of the Dome; Kearney's route being on the right. We leave the copper and gold mines on the north, about a day's journey distant.[64] Saw several flocks of quails; they differ from those of the States in color, are somewhat larger, make a different noise, and the male bird has a beautiful "top knot" on the head. Our course lies over a comparatively level country. Passed through a deserted Indian village of about 50 wigwams; these consist of small rods or poles stuck in the ground at one end and lashed together with bark at the other, in the form of a bake oven, and about the same size; this frame is covered with grass. The grass on the plains is now dead, giving them the appearance of old stubble fields. Encamped on a tule swamp without wood, obtained a little water, "such as it was," by digging a hole at the edge of the swamp and leaving it stand until settled. Distance, 15 miles—1200.

## CHAPTER X

Saturday, July 7.—Started at daylight, intending to stop at the first wood and water we came to, but did not find any until 10 o'clock, when we encamped on a small ravine, near a spring of pretty good water. This was a hard day's march on our animals. Howard's riding horse gave out this afternoon, and he was obliged to leave him behind. Shortly after reaching our camping place we en-

64. This reference to the Santa Rita copper mines would indicate that the party swung to the south perhaps more than was necessary.

tered a narrow defile down which runs a small rill of clear water, surrounded on all sides by wild, savage-looking hills and mountains. We followed down the ravine for some distance in hopes of finding some grass for our animals. Maj. Green and Fox were some distance behind the company, bringing up a jaded mule, when suddenly several mounted Indians emerged from the hills and rushed upon them with poised lances. We being at too great distance to render them any aid in time concluded that it was "all day with them," when the foremost Indian rode up alongside the Major and handed him a small paper, containing the articles of a "treaty" with the Americans, which was signed by some unknown persons. By this time other Indians began making their appearance around us, coming upon us from all quarters, simultaneously, rising out of the earth, as it were. They were all on horseback and well armed with guns, lances and bows and arrows. From their hostile appearance and manoeuvering we concluded that they meditated an attack upon us. As quickly as possible we "herded" our pack animals, around which we placed ourselves as guard, and commenced loading our guns and making preparations to repel an attack, in case any should be made. Seeing the cool manner in which we received their visits they made signs of friendship, and directed us to a good camping place. We did not put much confidence in their pretensions and watched them closely. They remained at a respectful distance until we had unpacked and prepared to cook supper; they then came around us and showed a disposition to trade. In the meanwhile a number of squaws had made their appearance, all seated astride their ponies leading mules and carrying baskets containing jerked horse meat and mezcal, which they wished to exchange for clothing, etc. This mezcal is prepared out of the bulb of a large plant of the same name, which is baked in a kiln and cut up into small slices to dry. It has a sweetish taste and is no doubt very nutritious, being their principal article of food. The mezcal wine, so common in Mexico, is a product of the same plant. We exchanged a number of worn-out stock for fresh, giving one, two and three for a good mule, and always some clothing, pistols or something else into the bargain. They had some very fine mules, but preferred horses, which favored us in exchanging. They were very eager to get strips or patches of red flannel, but preferred a white shirt to a red one. We procured a fine mule (American) of them, which had been left by Gen. Kearney three years ago. They were dressed in a variety of styles; some of the men wore a

headdress trimmed with gray feathers, but the majority, and all the squaws, were bare-headed. What few articles of clothing they had were principally Mexican goods. Some of them wore buckskin shirts, others a simple breech cloth "girt about their loins," while the children were entirely naked. They all wore moccasins, some of which extended almost to the knees. Some of their horses are "shod" with rawhide, to protect the hoof from the sharp stones. One of the squaws had a child lashed fast in a very roughly constructed wicker basket, which she swung upon her back by means of a band across her forehead. Out of curiosity some of us took particular notice of the papoose, caressing it, etc., which instead of flattering the mother, amused her very much. I suppose that their "lords" never deign to notice the papoose, thinking it out of place, unmanly, and beneath their dignity. Like all other Indian tribes, the females are the drudges. There was a boy amongst their number, about fifteen years old, that particularly attracted our attention. The color of his hair, complexion, features, etc., plainly bespoke that he was the child of white parents. By what means he came amongst these roving savages, is more than we can learn, but he was no doubt stolen by them when very young, for he cannot speak English and is not a Mexican. He appears more intelligent than the rest, who paid him a great deal of deference, consulting him in all their trades. He appeared very intimate with a good looking squaw of about the same age, who seemed to share his superiority. Her features were regular, with a fine, intelligent expression of countenance, only wanting a becoming dress to give her a civilized appearance. The rest of the squaws were of low stature, coarse featured and uncomely. The old chief visited our camp in the evening and after holding a talk respecting our road through his country, etc., ordered his people to leave, and in a few moments not an Indian was to be seen. The squaws carried off the newly acquired goods, animals, etc.; the men mounted the horses and rode at full speed. It surprised us to see the spirit and animation which our jaded animals assumed in the hands of their new masters. They rode without a bridle, and are the most expert horsemen we have yet seen, excelling the New Mexicans. While exchanging for a mule which had a squaw in charge, she saw me display to another a lot of red beads; after the bargain for the mule was closed, she gave me to understand that she wanted the beads she had seen as a reward for her interest in the trade, and would have all the beads or keep the mule. Of course I was obliged to yield, for procuring fresh animals

was of utmost importance to us. They are very avaricious and have little regard for their word of honor when self-interest is at stake. They care nothing about money and prefer a new brass button to a half eagle. They had a little money among them, but did not know the value of it. We had one display of "etiquette" worthy of imitation by a more civilized race of people. While the old chief was holding his talk with our captain, the Mexican guide ventured to say something on the subject, when the chief ordered him to "hold his tongue," saying that it was enough for one man to speak at once. Aware of their reported treachery, and not putting much confidence in their protestations of friendship, we doubled our night guard, but were not molested. In the morning we found a few small articles had been stolen while trading with them; but upon the whole, our falling in with this band of savages was the most fortunate circumstance that happened to us on the whole route. Distance, 24 miles; 1224 miles out from Fort Smith.

Sunday, July 8.—Started at eight o'clock and moved off in fine spirits, well satisfied with the results of yesterday's "fair." I suppose more than 200 Indians had visited our camp during the afternoon. Our course west, over a very rough, broken country; then ascended and crossed a high mountain, which is the dividing ridge that separates the waters which empty into the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. We then descended a long ravine and encamped about 1 o'clock on a small, pure stream, and had pretty good grass for our animals. The surrounding hills are covered with trees of a stunted growth, shrubbery and gramma. The main stalk of the beargrass grows to a great heighth. This the Indians use for lance handles, which are from 10 to 15 feet long, and very firm when dry. Mr. Hart, an old California gold miner, thinks that the earth indicates an abundance of gold in this region. We found specimens of copper and iron ore. Distance, 15 miles—1239.

Monday, July 9.—Our guide led us in a winding course through ravines and across difficult hills, until we found ourselves traveling down the bed of an arroyo, which gradually widened and deepened, until we suddenly emerged and bivonaced upon the bank of the Rio Gila (Hela). In the bed of the arroyo we saw a great variety of cactus or prickly pear, loaded with ripe fruit; also several varieties of trees, walnut, elder, oak, etc. There is little doubt but the country we pass over to-day will at no distant period prove an immense gold placere. The hills are composed of a sand rock and red clay, intermixed with sand and small

flint stones; in the ravines we saw the slate rock cropping out, made bare by the action of the water, and large quantities of quartz, which is said always to accompany a deposit of gold. We did not "prospect" any, for the want of water, and very likely we should not have known how to examine for the precious metal. Indeed, we think but little about gold or gold digging, it being a subject rarely introduced for "camp gossip." Traveling has become as natural as doing "day labor;" it is indeed very laborious, and when we reach camp we are very much fatigued and think of nothing else than rest. Our stock of provisions is disappearing rapidly, and unless we are fortunate enough to obtain a supply of the Pjona [Pima] Indians, we shall certainly suffer, and we are beginning to think this a much more important consideration than the gold of California. The banks of the Gila, like all other rivers we have seen since leaving the Ohio, are fringed with cottonwood. At this point it is about 12 yards wide and 18 inches deep, and runs upon the first rock and gravel bed we have seen since leaving Pennsylvania. It is a swift flowing stream of clear, pure water, and abounds in trout, some of which are of a very large size. As soon as we encamp a number of our men prepared themselves with rod and line and went to "try their luck" amongst these strangers of the finny tribe. They soon returned and reported favorably, having caught enough to supply "all hands" for both supper and breakfast. Hill Dixon caught one that measured four inches between the eyes and weighed about 30 pounds. The country is very mountainous on both sides of the river, and but little flat land along its banks, which at this point is covered with a luxuriant growth of weeds, indicating a good soil. This is the encamping ground of the Mexicans who come out to trade with the Apaches. We can find no grass and we fear our animals will suffer while traveling down the river. Here our guide, Joseph Jarvis, leaves us to return home, having fulfilled his contract faithfully, and we are left to "go it blind" the rest of the way. Distance, 23 miles—1260 *(sic)*.

Tuesday, July 10.—After giving Jarvis a letter of recommendation signed by each member of the company, and furnishing him with enough crackers and bacon to last him to the Rio Grande, he started home and we continued our journey. Crossed the river and continued down the bank, through underbrush and weeds, for several miles, then re-crossed and ascended a high, difficult bluff and kept upon the high lands, crossed several deep arroyos and again

encamped on the river bottom, opposite Steeple Rock.[65] The highlands or plains are entirely destitute of timber, but are covered with a sparse growth of gramma. If this first day's march on the Gila be a "sample" of "what is to come," we will "see sights" before we reach the "other end." Distance, 30 miles—1290.

Wednesday, July 11.—The trail laid along the north side of the river and was a comparatively good road. This flat is from one to two miles wide and probably 20 miles long. Passed through some patches of good grass, but the greatest portion of the valley is a barren waste. Judging from the great number of ruins we discovered, this place was, at some remote period, densely populated. We saw the stone foundations of walls, that once enclosed large towns. Some of the houses, which were no doubt built of adobes, had stone foundations. Save these marks, and the immense quantities of broken pottery strewed around, there is no trace or vestage of the country ever having been inhabited. The buildings are all level with the earth.[66] I believe there is no satisfactory accounts of these once extensive settlements on historical record. Probably these were colonies established in the early days of Mexico, and when in successful operation, were overpowered and driven off, or totally destroyed by savage Indians, and their improvements demolished and laid waste. It may be that gold mining was extensively carried on in this region of country, and the ore packed to the City of Mexico, to decorate the halls of the Montezumas, their churches, etc. It certainly would be interesting to know what ever induced people to settle in this isolated portion of the world—in a place where the earth would not produce enough to supply a small population. At present there are only a few deserted Indian wigwams along the river bank. About 3 o'clock we turned in to water, and found 40 men of the Knickerbocker company encamped.[67] They had attempted to explore a more southern route, but after suffering severely for want of water, losing one man and a number of stock, they concluded to shape their course due north for Gila, which they reached a few miles below our last night's camp. Good grass. Distance, 28 miles—1318.

Thursday, July 12.—Our course is down the valley of

65. "Steeple Rock" had been so named when the Army of the West passed this way. It was recognized by Chamberlin from the description which he had in Emory's *Notes*, p. 63.

66. Chamberlin seems to have anticipated seeing such evidences of prehistoric life from his reading of Emory's *Notes*, pp. 64-65.

67. See pages 36, 39 *supra*.

the river, occasionally leaving it for a short time to cross the bluffs that extend into the bank. We crossed the river three times to-day and encamped on the south side. Passed a company of 25 New Yorkers and Virginians encamped on the bank of the stream. Passed a great number of ruins described yesterday. The extensive ranges of mountains on both sides of the river present a variety of shapes and picturesque appearance. We are encamped at the point where we leave the river to cross the rough and trying part of the road called the "Devil's Turnpike."[68] Here the mountains close in upon the river, which has cut a channel through solid rock, in places more than 100 feet high. Through these cañons its restless waters rush, making it impossible to continue our course down the river. We drove our stock to the top of the mountain to feed upon gramma, where those of us not on guard were prevented from sleeping and completely drenched by a very violent thunder storm, which lasted several hours. Distance, 20 miles—1338.

---

## CHAPTER XI

Friday, July 13.—We started at 9 o'clock this morning, and immediately ascended a high mountain. Our course was over mountains and through ravines, down the rocky beds of which we frequently traveled for miles. Our mules scrambled along the sides of mountains and precipices where I thought it would be impossible for man or beast to venture; but they are a sure-footed animal and we did not meet with a single accident during the day. The trail for the whole distance is covered with a sharp, angular-shaped black rock and small sharp stones, which severely lacerated the hoofs of our animals, and they could have been tracked for miles by the blood upon the stones; but we all arrived safely in camp without losing a single mule. Gen. Kearney lost 15 in the same march 3 years ago. In some of those deep, dark chasms, through which we passed, it would (with the aid of a little fire and brimstone) require but a slight stretch of the imagination, to think one's self on the brink of the infernal regions. We descended into a deep, gloomy ravine, the bed of which was but a few feet in width, and the sides towered perpendicularly to the clouds. Night came on while we were thus imbedded in the "bowels of the earth," but we finally groped our way to

---

68. Under date of Oct. 26, 1846, Emory wrote: "The men named this pass 'the Devil's turnpike,' and I see no reason to change it." *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

the river, whither it led us, crossed over and encamped, having traveled 10 hours without intermission and made but 16 miles. The "Devil's Turnpike" is a very appropriate name for to-day's route; it is not "graded" but well "set" with sharp rocks. This has indeed been a difficult and trying day's march, on both man and beast. We walked all day and were almost worn out on reaching camp. We stopped on a sand bar, without a spear of grass for our weary and hungry stock, and their incessant cries during the night for something to eat were truly painful. We did not see a single living animal today; indeed, we have met but little game since leaving the buffalo region, on the plains of the Canadian river. Since leaving the Rio Grande we have seen an occasional antelope, hare, or a flock of quails. Of the reptile kind we have seen rattle snakes, horned toads, lizards, tarantulas, and scorpions in abundance. Today we had some extensive views of this wild region of country. Nothing could be seen as far as the eye could reach but mountain upon mountain, apparently barren, which gives this desolate waste a most forbidding appearance. From the amount of drift and other indications, the Gila rises to a great height during the wet season. Distance, 16 miles; 1354 miles out from Fort Smith.

Saturday, July 14.—This morning we find ourselves encamped on a small sand bar, with impassable cañons above and below us, and enclosed on either side by tremendous mountains. We have been following the trail of a company a few days in advance of us, which has brought us into the difficulty. The suffering condition of our animals compels us to make our way out of this "trap" as soon as possible. Several of us started in search of a trail leading out, but found none. Our only resort was to ascend a high and rugged mountain, the summit of which we at last gained, after incredible toil on the part of our mules and selves. We continued along the dividing rise in a southern course, in hopes of getting out of this "turnpike" region in a short time. Our tender-footed beasts hobbled along as best they could, but all the mules that had been shod at Santa Fe lost their shoes during yesterday and to-day's march. After traveling several miles in this way we intersected a good trail, which led us directly to the river. We suppose this to be General Kearney's old route, he having left the river further to the north. After a long but pretty gradual descent we again reached the waters of the Gila and traveled down the stream crossing it nine times, when we emerged upon a flat, which widened out, and is covered with mezquite and other bushes, but not a spear of grass.

Here again we found a great number of those ruins, formerly spoken of, large quantities of broken pottery, etc. It is impossible to judge the shape of the vessels of which these fragments form a part; very likely, however, these buildings were roofed with this material. It resembles the common red crockery now in use in the States, being ornamented and striped in a variety of styles. Not a piece was to be found of a larger size than a man's hand. We encamped on a small patch of green grass about a mile from the river. It is a fortunate circumstance we found this, it being the first we have met with for several days. The base of Mount Graham is about 10 miles distant, on the south side of the river.[69] The waters of the Gila have been increased by the addition of the Prieto and Don Carlos rivers;[70] the latter stream is strongly impregnated with salt. Saw an abundance of blue quail and a great many turtle doves; the latter bird we have met with in every part of the country since leaving the States. Distance, 20 miles—1374.

Sunday, July 15.—The Virginians lost a mule yesterday, and Capt. Dixon found a good one running loose. The bank of the river is so beset with underbrush and drift that we cannot get a supply of water without extreme difficulty. Remained in camp to-day to rest and graze our animals. Some of our men tried to catch some fish, but met with poor success. I preferred gunning and killed a few quails, doves, etc., saw a great many long-eared hares, but they were very wild. I spent several hours in wandering over the site of these ancient settlements, but could find nothing but the pottery and foundations of buildings, denoting the existence of a once numerous people. The weather for some days has been excessively warm, and the indifferent shade of a mezquite bush is the only protection we have from the scorching rays of the run. We would prefer traveling, if we could do so in justice to our animals.

Monday, July 16.—Trail continues down the valley of the river, which is from one to three miles wide. Passed more ruins, which were in a greater state of preservation than any we had yet seen—broken portions of walls and posts are yet standing. We also saw some large stones, hollowed out in the shape of a mortar; these were no doubt used for grinding grain. The valley of this river was once inhabited by thousands—perhaps millions of human beings,

69. There would be no difficulty in recognizing Mount Graham from the illustration in Emory's *Notes*, p. 67.

70. This observation is similar to that made by Emory, *op. cit.*, 66. "Don Carlos" is a slip for San Carlos.

now wholly extinct. They cultivated the soil, which required irrigation, and some of their ditches can be seen to this day. The sand and dust in our trail is very deep, and so heated by the rays of the sun that an egg could be roasted in a few minutes. The barrels of our guns became so hot that we could scarcely touch them, and our bridle reins almost blistered our hands. We passed along between the base of Mt. Graham and the river. The top of the mountain is immersed in clouds and showers are falling around its summit, while it is perfectly clear in the valley. The water which falls around the mountain flows down the ravines, in which there appears to be some verdure, and at the base there is said to flow a subterranean creek. Encamped on the river bank, had some grass, but the water of the Gila is very warm and blackish. Distance, 30 miles—1404.

Tuesday, July 17.—Meeker and Bornean[71] abandoned their worn-out riding horses yesterday. Our course is down the river, the trail pretty solid. In the afternoon we crossed a rocky point extending into the river and encamped a few miles below, directly opposite or north of Mount Turnbull.[72] This afternoon we intersected a large trail, which we suppose is that traveled by Sonora traders to barter with the Indians.[73] Saw the "frames" of a number of cattle and horses lying along the route. Today we again passed the Knickerbocker company, many of whom are on foot, two or three of them packing one horse, and that probably on its "last legs." We had a cool breeze today and got along very comfortably. Distance, 30 miles—1434.

Wednesday, July 18.—Kept down the river with a good road until 12 o'clock, when the river cañoned and we were "brought to a stand." We, however, found a small trail leading south, around the western side of Mt. Turnbull, and started on it, but unfortunately, neglected to water our animals and fill our canteens, expecting to strike the river again in a few miles. In this we were disappointed. We continued traveling south, leaving the river behind us, and

71. At page 40 *supra*, this name appears as "Bornan."

72. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 69, wrote under date of Oct. 30: "Mount Turnbull, terminating in a sharp cone, had been in view down the valley of the river for three days. Today about three o'clock p.m., we turned its base, forming the northern terminus of the same chain in which is Mount Graham."

73. Again we quote Emory (p. 76): "The dry creek by which we crossed to the San Pedro river was the great highway leading from the mountain fastnesses into the plains of Santa Cruz, Santa Anna, and Tucsoon, frontier towns of Sonora. Along this valley was distinctly marked the same fresh trail, noted yesterday, of horses, cattle, and mules."

ascending the mountain upon mountain. Found no water and it was too late to return to the river. On looking back we could see the Gila flowing off to the S.W., and the Rio San Francisco emptying into it directly north of us. The latter appears to be a considerable stream, running south through a small valley. We still keep our course up the mountains in hopes of finding water, but fearful of having to camp without it. The mules belonging to the Virginia and Heddenburg mess began to fail; they halted in a ravine and declared they would go no farther, but return in the morning to the river. The Texians, Capt. Dixon's mess[74] and ourselves went on, toiling up the ravine, and finally came to what was apparently the end of the mountain we were upon. Two or three persons descended in search of water, and after the delay of an hour reported an abundance of water in the ravine. This was joyful news to us; we had had none since morning, although none of us were suffering for want of it. We wound around the end of the mountain and descended several hundred feet into a deep, dark, rocky defile, in the bottom of which ran a small but pure rill of water. Here we encamped and turned our animals up the side of the mountain to graze upon the scattered bunches of gramma that grows amongst the rocks. We here found several deserted Indian huts, where they had encamped to prepare their mezcal, which grows in great abundance amongst these mountains. They had a furnace of stone built in which to bake it. The mezcal plant resembles the pine apple somewhat in appearance, but is of more luxuriant growth, and send up a long, straight stalk, from 10 to 20 feet high, bearing on the top a number of handsome yellow flowers. We sent word of our good fortune to those we left behind, but they failed to come up; think that their animals will require several days rest before they will be able to proceed. A mutual division of our small company must take place, which is much to be regretted, after having traveled so far together. Our provisions are fast disappearing, which obliges us to push forward while they have a pretty good supply. We have little breadstuff left and but 4 or 5 days' rations of bacon in this desolate region. There are some sycamore trees in this ravine, resembling the same species in the States excepting the leaves. Distance, 30 miles—1464.

---

74. For the constituent groups of their party to this point, see p. 40 *supra.*

## CHAPTER XII

Thursday, July 19.—The first step this morning was to ascend the high and almost perpendicular mountainside, out of this ravine, which in all probability the rays of the sun never reach. We almost despaired of accomplishing the task, but after a hard struggle the mules reached the summit. One poor animal, with a heavy pack, lost its equilibrium, fell down a precipice and rolled over several times, pack and all, but soon recovered his footing, and again commenced the toilsome ascent. We then continued ascending and descending one rugged steep after another. As far as the eye could reach nothing presented itself to our vision but high mountains and corresponding ravines. Our trail is very indistinct, branching in different directions, which satisfies us that we are followng an Indian path, perhaps never trod by the foot of white men before. Occasionally we could catch a glimpse of the Gila on its course, far off to the north. We all walked, leading our animals. It has been a most toilsome day's march on man and beast. We crossed several small streams of water, in the beds of arroyos, which run a short distance and then sink in the sand. The prickly pear, loaded with fruit, has been very abundant for some days. When ripe it is a deep red color, full of seeds and of a pleasant taste; but beware of the small, sharp prickles with which the fruit and stalk is armed. About 12 o'clock we reached the top of the mountain and passed between two high and rocky pillars, which towered upon our right and left. Here our further progress appeared at an end. The path led down into a deep chasm, from which there did not seem a single point of egress. Several of us started in search of a passage in the direction we wished to travel, others ascended the pillars to "view the landscape o'er." When out of each other's sight they commenced "hallooing," and were immediately answered by some Indians in the ravine in front of us, who soon made their appearance. After signs of friendship had passed between us, we advanced to hold a talk with them. They were entirely naked, both male and female. We gave them to understand that we wanted to reach the Gila river, at the mouth of the Rio San Pedro. They directed us upon a trail running down the ravine to the S.W.; this we descended with little difficulty for a few miles and encamped with water and grass. The day has been cloudy and pleasant. Distance, 16 miles—1480.

Friday, July 20.—Continued down the ravine without much interruption until we reached the Gila. Here the

river comes foaming and tumbling out of one cañon and immediately enters another. We crossed and commenced climbing the mountain on the north side. This is the point where Gen. Kearney reached the river, after four days of toilsome travel over the mountains, on the north side of the river, to avoid the cañons above. During the same time, they lost a great number of animals. We have accomplished the same object on the south side in two days, and by traveling less than half the distance. He had the celebrated Kit Carson for guide; we had none. The inexperienced will sometimes fall into good luck. Again passed the Knickerbocker company, many of whom are destitute of provisions, and were "nooning it" upon the fruit of the prickly pear—a flimsy substitute for food. To-day we met with the first of a new and singular kind of cactus. It is a tree without limb or leaf, but with branches similar to the main stalk, putting out about half-way up the trunk; it is evergreen, fluted and armed with prickles, or barbs. There are great numbers of these peculiar yet beautiful trees growing out on the south side of the mountain. We are now in the Piñon Lanos range.[75] They are high, rocky, barren and very difficult to pass, of which we had a specimen this afternoon. We climbed three successive mountains, and then descended all at once, for a distance of two miles, over rocks, sharp stones, cactus, etc., and encamped in an arroyo near the river, down which ran a small, clear stream of pure, cold water, which was a gratifying treat to us, after a hard day's march beneath a burning sun. There is no grass in the neighborhood for our suffering animals. There is cottonwood, ash and willow growing in the ravine. We found some small sour grapes, and saw a humming bird, a wren, and a ground squirrel. Distance, 20 miles; 1500 miles out from Fort Smith.

Saturday, July 21.—After crossing the point of a most precipitous mountain we again reached the Gila, and then commenced the winding descent of the river, for through these apparently impassable cañons is now our only course. We crossed the stream 30 times in the course of to-day's march, sometimes swimming our mules, wetting our packs, etc. The bed of the river in places is very rocky, and in others composed of quicksand, which makes it unpleasant to ford. In places the current was so rapid as to wash the legs of the animals from under them and carry them bodily down stream; but they invariably recovered and reached

75. Emory has quite a little to say about the "Piñon Lano range on the north side of the Gila," and of the tribe of that name. *Op. cit.*, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78 *passim.*

the shore in safety. In these tremendous cañons nature displayed her powers in the wildest form. The stupendous rocks, reared perpendicularly above each other for hundreds of feet, present a grand but gloomy spectacle to the beholder. Nothing like vegetation or animal life cheer the solitude of the scene, except the lonely cactus trees, which has the appearance of so many sentinels, stationed by the infernal powers to guard these dark passes. We measured one of the trees that had been blown down and found it to be 39 feet in length and 25 inches in diameter. Some of them have five or six arms, generally two or three, sometimes one and frequently none. These single stalks raising out of the earth to the height of 40 feet, and two feet in thickness, are an odd looking "vegetable." We found a species of nut to-day, resembling the almond in taste, which sickened some of the boys who ate of them. We met five naked Apaches, who were about taking dinner when we came upon them. The "prepared dish" lay in the sand, around which they were seated. It consisted of several yards of the entrails of a dead horse, containing all the filth, roasted in the ashes. On this dainty morsel they feasted, pulling it off in pieces with their claws, and ate with apparently good relish, until they were as "full as ticks," the "seasoning" running down their faces all the while. They kindly offered to share their meal with us, but having yet a small supply of more palatable food, we thanked them. No doubt this would have been an "affecting" sight to persons of weak stomachs, but we have become indifferent to "sights," and do not know how soon we may be compelled to imitate their example. We traveled further than we intended to-day, in hopes of finding more grass, but were obliged to encamp at last without a blade in view. This is certainly hard food for our mules, but we cannot remedy it. We were visited this evening by some "poverty-struck" Apaches, mostly squaws and children; they wore no clothing but the breechcloth, which is made of buckskin. We ordered them to leave at dark. Distance, 16 miles—1516.

Sunday, July 22.—This morning the Indians again visited us. They had nothing to trade but some jerked horse meat, which we did not relish if we were out of meat. They were very curious, handling and examining everything within their reach. We gave them some trifling presents, with which they were much pleased. Several of the young squaws were passably good looking, having regular features and expressive countenance, etc. One of them had a paint stone, resembling red chalk, suspended from her neck, with which they striped themselves in our presence, using their

fingers for a brush and spittle to mix with. After descending the river through a number of cañons, and crossing 6 times, we emerged from the mountains upon a barren, sandy flat, opposite where the Rio San Pedro empties into the Gila on the south side. We are much rejoiced to find ourselves again in an open country, after several days of incessant toil to ourselves and animals. Passed Saddle-Back Peak,[76] which is situated on the south side of the river, a short distance above the mouth of the San Pedro. This mountain has been appropriately named, for the summit very much resembles the seat of a saddle. Here the Gila, which has for some time been running almost south, changes its course to N. of W. We found a few bunches of coarse grass about 1 o'clock, when we stopped and rested until 5, then packed up again and traveled until dark; saw numerous flocks of quails and doves. This flat is covered with mezquite, timber, weeds, and but little grass. The weather is very hot, no air stirring. Distance, 12 miles—1528.

Monday, July 23.—There being a little grass here, we concluded to rest for the day, and graze our stock, for from all accounts we will find but little feed on the balance of our route. The day was excessively hot, and the small mezcal trees afford us but poor shelter from the burning sun. The Virginians came up and passed by us to-day; the New York company also passed by us.

Tuesday, July 24.—Our camp had been pitched in a thicket of mezquite and weeds, and making an early start this morning, we had traveled several miles before we discovered that one of our pack mules were missing. After packing, it no doubt wandered into the thicket and was left behind. Three of us started back, but there were several Indians ahead of us, who no doubt found the prize and drove it off into the mountains. We engaged Piñon Lanos Indians to go in search of it, offering them a large reward, and amongst other things a gun with powder and ball, upon which they exclaimed "mui bueno" (very good) and set off at full speed, promising to bring it into camp this evening. But neither the Indians or the mule came, and we have given up all hopes of ever seeing it again. It was a good mule, belonging to the company, and carried the most valuable pack. We estimate the loss at about $400. All the most necessary and valuable clothing belonging to Armstrong, Howard, Musser, and myself were upon it, including my gold watch and chain, and other articles of

76. Emory (p. 75) says: "so named by us from its resemblance to the outline of a saddle."

value. My individual loss is not less than $175. The pack also contained some business letters of introduction, and many small but useful articles which we had packed into India rubber bags for preservation. Altogether, we considered it a serious loss in our private situation. It is the first stroke of ill luck we have yet met with; I hope it is not the commencement of a series. We had not traveled far to-day before the river again cañoned and we were obliged to ford it 21 times during the march. We encamped on the south side and turned our animals upon the hills to feed on the gramma, which is very thin but better than none. We crossed Mineral creek this afternoon. It is a small stream, emptying into the Gila on the north side. This stream is said to abound in gold and other minerals; but we did not stop to explore. Distance, 22 miles—1550.

Wednesday, July 25.—No tidings of the lost mule and packs, and we have given up all hopes of recovering either. No doubt my watch already bedecks the tawny bosom of some squaw, of no more value to her than a brass button. After passing through a number of cañons and crossing the river 10 times, we once more reached where the river "spreads out its valley." The dust on the trail is almost knee deep, which, with the intense heat, makes traveling difficult and oppressive. To-day we met two Pigmo [Pima] Indians. They said they were out after horses and mules to exchange with the American emigrants. Encamped on the river bank. Distance, 25 miles—1575.

Thursday, July 26.—Dust and underbrush annoyed us very much in our course down the valley. This afternoon we entered Gen. Cook's wagon road, which comes up from the east. This evening a pack mule company by Capt. Day came up by that route. They gave a very favorable account of the route, which must be preferable to the one we have traveled. They had passed through a number of Mexican villages, and had an abundance of feed for their animals. Capt. Day has his wife with him. She is a Spanish woman, and the first female emigrant we have seen on the route. She was mounted upon a mule, riding in the train covered with dust, holding an umbrella over her head and a child in her arms. Distance, 25 miles—1609.

## CHAPTER XIII

Friday, July 27.—Early this morning we were visited by a number of Pigmo (pemo) Indians of both sexes. We find we are encamped within a league of their principal village.[77] We have found a small patch of coarse grass, that has been repeatedly grazed off by the animals of companies in advance of us, but it is much better than we have met with for many days. The condition of our stock, and the prospects of obtaining a supply of provisions, requires us to remain here a day at least. We have been on short allowance for some time. We have had no bacon for two weeks; the last of it had melted away, until there were little left but the skins. Our supply of coffee is beginning to fail. We are obliged to drink it very weak, without sugar, which with a scanty allowance of Mexican flour has constituted our entire fare for sometime. The flour was ground by hand power, and contains all the bran. Could our empty provision sacks be replenished with a sack of flour, and a few pounds of bacon, we would feel as happy and contented as lords, nor envy the epicure enjoying his choicest luxuries. This is a pretty fix to be in, wanting the bare necessaries of life; but we have no reason to complain, Providence has favored us thus far, and we are once more where we can obtain something to sustain life. Could mules travel the Gila river route and carry heavy burdens, we might have reproached ourselves for leaving Santa Fe with so small a supply, but that is impossible; we have seen no emigrants on the route who have fared better than ourselves, and many far worse. We were not long in commencing to barter with the Pigmos, who showed a very friendly disposition. They brought us small quantities of wheat flour, very coarse, some green corn, and watermelons, for which we gave them shirts and other articles in exchange. We could not procure meat of them, it being the article we most needed. Being an agricultural people, they require what few animals they have for that purpose. We had hoped to exchange some of our weary mules for fresh stock, but were disappointed, and will have to perform the balance of our journey, with our broken down animals, as best we can. The Pigmos resemble most other Indian tribes we have met, but are not so finely formed, athletic, and dignified as the Apaches, of whom they are in great dread. I was amused upon offering them a pair of buckskin leggins, which I had purchased of the Apaches; they instantly recognized them by the or-

---

77. Compare Emory, *op. cit.*, 82 *et seq.* Chamberlin's use here of the term "league" is curious.

naments, and appeared actually afraid to touch them, exclaiming, "Apache's, Apache's malo! mui malo!" They are disposed to be peaceful. The more savage tribes steal their stock, which is very unfortunate for them. They have some animals left by Gen. Kearney, Major Graham and Cook. The dress of these Indians is very simple, and many wear but the simple breech cloth. A shirt is the height of their ambition in the dress line. The climate is so mild the year round, that much clothing would be superfluous. At present the heat is very oppressive; our thermometers stand at a 126° above zero in the shade. These Indians appear to be perfectly honest. The old Chief or Governor visited us to-day, and took dinner with us. He wished to know how his subjects behaved towards us, and said that if we caught them pilfering or misbehaving, we should inform him, and that he would punish them accordingly. Thus do this singular and simple people live in peace and contentment, enjoying the fruits of their labors, in this isolated portion of the world, and if ignorant of many blessing attending more enlightened nations, are alike unacquainted with their vices.

Saturday, July 28.—We had traveled but a short time before we entered the village. It is scattered over a large portion of the river flat, which is about fifteen miles wide at this point. The village is situated on the south side of the river. There are a number of springs or marshes, by which they irrigate the land. We saw no running streams. Their wigwams are composed of a kind of wicker work, thatched with straw or reeds, and the whole covered with earth. They have each a summer house, which consists of four posts set in the ground, cross pieces, and the top covered with straw. These form very comfortable shades, and it was a rich luxury to sit under one of them and eat watermelons, boiled wheat, beans, &c. These people speak the Spanish language pretty well, which I suppose they have learned from their intercourse with the trade between Mexico and California, this being an important point upon the route. They enter their bake-oven-shaped huts through the only aperture, at one end, and in them they live, eat, drink and sleep, "up to their eyes" in sand, the earth being of a sandy nature, and very barren appearance. They grow cotton, and manufacture it into coarse cloth, their weaving apperratus being very simple. They use the wooden Mexican plough, and fence with poles and brush, and their little patches display more taste than those in New Mexico. We saw some of the men at work, but the majority of the laborers were women. They do all the drudge work, carrying

immense burdens upon their heads, grind wheat, corn, &c. Saw but few fire arms among them; they have all bows and arrows, but seldom carry any about them. This afternoon we passed through a part of the Marakopa [Maricopa] tribe. We saw many of them engaged in playing cards. These tribes of Indians have been represented as having all the virtues and none of the vices of the whites. This was either exaggeration, or they have degenerated greatly within a few years. We have found them to lie, cheat and steal. They handle cards with a great deal of dexterity, know the value of money, and used it in betting at their games. After a long search for pasture, we saw a deserted cornfield, in which we encamped. Our animals relished the fodder very much. We found a small run of water near, which was very blackish. The river is about two miles to the north. At this point the road crosses the mountains, a jornada of about fifty miles, cutting off a large bend in the river. Distance, 30 miles—1630.

Sunday, July 29.—Concluded to keep Sunday, for from all accounts we will not find another "cornfield" soon. Although we have passed through all the villages, we were visited to-day by a number of Marakopas, bringing corn, panol [*pinole?*], melons, &c., for exchange. We failed of procuring meat from these Indians, of which we are very much in need, in our present condition. We exchanged several broken down horses for others very little better, giving more "to boot" than both were worth. We were well enough supplied with corn and melons, and ten of us consumed several dozen to-day. The old proverb "either a feast or a famine," applies to us. A number of Indians have laid about our camp all day, watching every opportunity to pilfer. They ate the rinds of the melons which we threw away.

Monday, July 30.—Left the cornfield, and kept the trail, following the course of the river. We feared our mules were inadequate to the task of crossing the jornada, although it is a great "cut off." A large portion of the valley is here covered with a saline deposit. The impression of horses' hoofs are visible in every direction, being filled with salt, which it is said the Indians collect for use. The heavy growth of weeds in different places denotes a rich soil. Mezquite timber is becoming more abundant. This tree resembles the locusts in the States. It bears a bean, which is sweet and very good feed for animals. The Indians are fond of them. After a long search, we found a "bare spot" large enough to encamp upon, on a small island in the river. We turned our mules out to browse upon willows and weeds.

This is pretty hard fare after a fatiguing day's march, but we can do no better. The day has been very hot, and the water of the Gila so warm, that we could not drink it, did not necessity require it, it being also very brackish. Distance, 25 miles—1655.

Tuesday, July 31.—Crossed the river, but swamps interrupting our course on the north side, we were obliged to recross. Excepting the course of the river, which is still marked by a growth of cotton wood, willow, underbrush, mezquite, and rank weeds, the general appearance of the country is most sterile and forbidding. The sunburned summits of the mountains are entirely destitute of vegetation. The heat very oppressive, and being some distance from the river, we are almost choked from thirst. In addition to our canteens, each person procured a gourd from the Pigmo Indians, but with all our vessels we were unable to carry a day's supply of water. This afternoon we had every sign of a fine shower, which would have been very refreshing, but it ended in a gust of wind. The sand flew in all directions, blinding, and almost suffocating us for a time. It must almost have equalled the "monsoons" on the deserts of Africa. Not a drop of rain fell. The country is in a "parched up" condition, and from every appearance, no rain has fallen for several months. From "signs," drift-wood, &c., we can see that the Gila rises to a great height during the rainy season. Passed the Salt and San Francisco rivers, which unite and flow into the Gila on the north side.[78] The Rio Francisco is a considerable stream. At a distance in advance of us the appearance of the country—the ever-changing scenery, is truly beautiful. The valley of the river appears covered with herbage, interspersed with groves of wood, and surrounded with low chains of picturesque mountains. But the eye deceives the senses; all changes as we travel along, plodding through the sand almost knee deep, annoyed by the numerous prickly shrubs, the thorns of the mezquite tree scratching us and tearing our clothes, whenever we come in contact with it. Our hands "have to suffer" when we gather the beans for our mules. They are very fond of them, being a pretty good substitute for grass. They contain a great deal of saccharine matter, and are no doubt very nutritious. Encamped in a mezquite thicket and fed upon beans. We are some distance from the river, and have great difficulty in going to it

78. For a good description of this region and of the relation of the streams named, see Emory's notes written when Kearny's force was camped "on the dividing ground between the Pimos and Maricopas." *Op. cit.*, 85-86.

from our camp, through the weeds, underbrush, drift, &c. Thermometer stood at 114° in the shade. After clearing away some of the brush and thorns, we managed to "turn in" upon "level ground." We had scarcely rolled our weary bodies up in our blanket, when our ears were saluted by the music of an old acquaintance. The serenade, though familiar, sounded harsh, and in a moment we were all upon our feet, determined to silence the "minstrel." We lighted a fagot and after considerable search succeeded in dislodging and beheading the bird. He was the largest rattle-snake I ever saw, being four feet in length and numbering upwards of twenty rattles. We had laid down within a few feet of him. It is said that they usually go in pairs, but we were not to be cheated out of our "roosts" by such notions, and again turned-in and were soon lost in "refreshing sleep," "nature's sweet restorer," and the goddess of dreams was not long in transporting our imaginations to "other scenes and to other times." To no persons do the "hours of rest" pass more quickly by than they appear to the way-worn traveler. Too soon are we aroused by the unwelcome voice of the captain, calling upon "all hands" to get up, prepare breakfast, pack, and be off by sunrise. So we go. Distance, 25 miles—1680.

Wednesday, Aug. 1.—The river inclines strongly to the south. We crossed several points of mountains which were covered with sharp, black rocks, which made the footing insecure for our animals and the traveling difficult. Found a "litter" upon which the company in advance of us had carried a man almost from the source of the Gila—a distance of several hundred miles. He had been badly wounded by the accidental discharge of a gun. Passed a river to-day which emptied into the Gila on the north side—we do not know the name of it. Encamped in a mezquite grove and fed upon beans. We scarcely see a blade of grass in a day's march. The depth of the sand and intense heat made this a hard day's march. Shot a few quails for supper. Camp a mile from water. Distance, 20 miles—1700.

Thursday, Aug. 2.—River bears due south. Sand very deep. Encamped this evening where the Gila takes a western course. Here we again intersected Gen. Cook's wagon route, which crosses the jornada before mentioned. It is but forty-eight miles from this point to the Pigmo village, while we have traveled one hundred by following the course of the river. The road through the cut-off is said to be very good and can be crossed in twelve hours. There are six men here that started in at six last evening and were here at twelve to-day, resting half the night; while we have

been four days making the same distance toward the end of our journey. Our company picked up a small stray mule this evening. We were obliged as usual to gather beans for our mules. Distance, 25 miles—1725.

---

## CHAPTER XIV

Friday, August 3.—The road pretty good, and we travel with more ease and speed than in the narrow Indian path. We are on the south side of the river, which now runs north of west. Crossed the point of a mountain, which projects into the river; on the west side there is a mound, composed of large black rocks, upon which there are engraved a great many rude characters and Hieroglyphics.[79] From all appearances other hands than those of the present inhabitants of this region have traced them there, and centuries have elapsed since the work was done. Did not reach the river until after dark. By the light of the moon we succeeded in finding a few mezquite trees at the base of a mountain, where we encamped. No sooner had we turned our mules loose, than they commenced "nickering" and wandering about from tree to tree, which satisfied us that there were no beans about, no grass, nor browse, and we heard them wandering off in search of food. The weeds were so high, and dense, that we could not see them. Something was said about being left on foot in the morning, to make the balance of our way as best we could; little attention was paid to it, however, and we all "turned in." The inclination to rest and repose after a long and fatiguing day's journey, entirely overcomes the necessity of guarding against difficulty in future. Being obliged to reach water, made this a longer march than we should have made in justice to ourselves and animals. Although we are yet in the Apache Indian range, and are approaching near the Yumas, we have given up "keeping guard" around camp. The labor of packing and unpacking, several times a day, all the while exposed to a burning sun, walking more than half the time, over mountains and through deep sand, drinking the hot brackish water of the Gila, and living upon our light and limited diet, all combine to reduce and debilitate us in mind as well as body. We have become entirely indifferent to danger. The object of our journey seldom enters our mind, and when the gold of California is spoken of, it is only in connection with—"If we were only where

---

79. Illustrations of these are found in Emory's *Notes*, pp. 89-91.

people lived, and we could get something to eat and drink, the de'il might have all the gold"—"I would give all my interest in the diggings for a month's supply of good provisions"—"I have made up my mind long ago, that we are upon a wild goose chase"—"If the Sierra Nevada mountains were made of gold, they cannot repay us for what we have endured on this journey," &c., &c. Travelling has become as natural as the labor of the mechanic, and the time on Saturday afternoon when he can "knock off work," is not met with more pleasure, by the young apprentice, than we hail the camping place at the end of each day's journey. I have often read of, but never believed, until I learned by experience, the changes that are produced upon the nature and temper of men, under these circumstances. A person would suppose, that men so far from the borders of civilization, would usually depend upon each other for mutual aid, comfort and protection, and find pleasure in doing so; but, in nine cases out of ten, it is the reverse. Companies of emigrants, pledged to stand by each other, have been divided and sub-divided by most trifling circumstances, which produced contention among them. Messes from the same neighborhood at home, have been separated; and I have even seen brothers quarrel, divide their "plunder," and each pursue his own course. Men that were formerly of the most mild, obliging dispositions, have become crabbed, fretful, and overbearing. And never have I been in a more perfect school of profanity; preachers and members of churches are not exempt from this all prevailing spirit, but appeared to become the most hardened. The decided change in life, the trials, hardships, and difficulties of an overland journey, but I believe nothing has so powerful an effect, as the scanty allowance of food. I am happy to say that our own mess have travelled together, and have reason to believe that none of the dissentions so common on the route will enter our little band. Yet we all saw, felt, and acknowledged, that we were not the persons we "used to was," in spirit, temper, and body, and have concluded that it will take considerable good "feeding," and intercourse with civilization, to restore us to our former condition. Distance, 30 miles—1755.

Saturday, August 4.—When we awoke this morning, not a horse or mule was to be seen. After scouring the country until ten o'clock, we found them, some six or eight miles from camp, still wandering about, having found no food. This afternoon we met several hundred Indians, on their way up the river—men, Squaws, and children. They appeared to be removing their goods and chattels, for every-

thing belonging to an Indian camp, they had upon their backs. What tribe they belong to, or are, we could not learn. They are a more rude and abject looking race, than any we have yet seen. The only clothing of male and female was the simple breech-cloth, and many were entirely naked. Their "fig-leaf" was the shreds of the inner bark of the tree, formed into a kind of fringe. The Squaws were carrying very heavy loads upon their backs, or rather on their foreheads, by means of a strap to which the weight is suspended, resting on their back. When trudging along, in the necessary stooped form, they very much resemble packed Sonorian Burros, (jackasses). The men were only encumbered with their bows, and a few of them were on horseback. I gave a squaw a silk handkerchief for a gourd, but they had nothing in the way of provisions that we could procure. While on the Rio Grande, I had covered my India rubber canteen with flannel, which I have since found to be a valuable improvement. By wetting the flannel, when I fill it, and hang it upon my saddle, the water becomes tolerable cool. Green, Musser, Armstrong and myself, had remained behind to trade with the Indians; Armstrong traded horses. When we started on, we could not find the company, who we supposed had turned off the road to encamp. After a fruitless search of two or three hours, we concluded to tie up for the night. We had eaten nothing since morning, and a scanty breakfast that was. Our animals fared better than ourselves, having abundance of beans. We spread our blankets on the sand, and "turned in," wishing for a portion of humble camp fare. Distance 15 miles—1770.

Sunday, August 5.—Rose early, saddled up, and started; followed the road for several miles, when we concluded to wait until some company came up, from whom we could get something to eat, not knowing whether our train was in advance or behind us. If behind, we fear they will wait, thinking that the Indians have detained us. We set about to kill some birds, but did not succeed very well; however, we should not have suffered, as long as beans were so abundant. About 10 o'clock our company came up; our first inquiry was for something to eat, which they fortunately had handy, and started, eating our breakfast on horseback; they had left "signs" in the road when they turned off to encamp, which we had overlooked. The general course of the Gila to-day has been south. We stopped twice to rest and graze our animals, and did not reach camp until 9 o'clock p.m. Crossed the points of several mountains; suffered from thirst; a laborious day's march; Charles Gath-

wait lay down in the road, during the evening, said he was sick, and would rather die on the spot than attempt to go farther. I was some distance behind the company when I came up with him, being detained, driving along a jaded horse. I urged Charley to mount his mule and go along, but it was vain to try to persuade him; I found that he had a burning fever on him, gave him a portion of the water left in my canteen, and started on to overtake the company. We were rejoiced when we again reached the river, and immediately encamped. Not finding any feed, we were obliged to tie our suffering animals up to "rock fodder," for it is better to have even a poor mule than none at all. Gathwait came up during the night. John Franklin, the Polander, also fell behind the company by some means, during the day's march. He is on foot and alone, we having brought his mule along in the train. He has not come up. Distance, 30 Miles—1800.

---

*(To be continued)*

## NECROLOGY

*Mrs. Ruth Hanna Simms.*—Wife of former Congressman Albert G. Simms, herself at one time a member of the national house of representatives, Mrs. Ruth Hanna Simms had won distinction in diverse fields and her death on the last day of 1944 was a distinct loss not only to her adopted state, New Mexico, but to the nation. As stated by ex-President Herbert Hoover: "Never was one more devoted to the welfare of the country. Her passing will leave a gap in American life."

Mrs. Simms was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on March 27, 1880, the daughter of United States Senator Marcus A. Hanna and Charlotte A. Rhodes. Her education was gained in private schools at Dobbs Ferry, New York, and Farmington, Connecticut. She was twice married. Her first husband, U. S. Senator Medill McCormick, whom she wed June 10, 1903, died February 25, 1925. The second marriage was to Albert G. Simms, who had served a second term in congress at the same time that Mrs. Simms was a member. The wedding took place on March 9, 1932, the marriage also being the second for Mr. Simms, lawyer and banker of Albuquerque.

Her father's pupil and associate, Mrs. Simms was thoroughly informed in political strategy and legislative procedure. Active member in Republican women's organizations, she lobbied for child labor laws in the Illinois legislature in 1915 as representative also of the Illinois Consumers' League. Three years before, she had joined the Progressive Party and was active at headquarters in its 1912 campaign. Rejoining the Republican ranks, she became Republican national committee woman from Illinois, 1924 to 1928. Then followed her service in the house of the 71st congress, 1929 to 1931, as the member-at-large from Illinois. She was the Republican nominee for the United States senate from that state in 1930. Continuing her political activities after taking up her residence in New Mexico she was a delegate from New Mexico to the Republican national convention in Chicago in 1944.

One of the owners of the *Chicago Tribune,* Mrs. Simms was also president of the Rockford (Ill.) Consolidated Newspapers and of Radio Station W R O K. Her interest in education led her to the founding of the Sandía School for Girls near Albuquerque, erecting fine buildings for the school, which was taken over later by the War Department and is now planned to be the home for a State Hospital, recently authorized by the New Mexico legislature. Founder of the Manzano Day School in Albuquerque she was also a trustee of the Fountain Valley Boys School in Colorado Springs and had been a member of the board of regents of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fé. Among her other civic activities were included membership in the Women's Trade Union League, the Business and Professional Women's Club, the American Association for Labor Legislation, Women's Clubs for Civic Improvement in Chicago, the Cuarto-Centennial Coronado Commission of New Mexico, and other organizations. A friend and patron of art, Mrs. Simms maintained an art gallery at her beautiful home on Los Poblanos Ranch near Albuquerque and was a patron of an annual summer music festival held there. Her friendships and acquaintanceships included statesmen, political and educational leaders, painters, writers, musicians of national fame.

In addition to these activities, Mrs. Simms with her husband was deeply interested in agricultural and livestock improvement, not only at Los Poblanos Ranch but also on the great Trinchera cattle and sheep ranch in southern Colorado on the northern New Mexico border of which she was the manager. It was while on the ranch that she was thrown by her horse, an accident, which it is believed, brought on her fatal illness, although she had been discharged from the hospital for the fracture she had suffered from the fall. She was a member of the American Livestock Association and the Holstein-Friesian Association, active in developing pure-bred Holstein cattle.

Besides her husband, there survive Mrs. Simms two of her daughters by her first marriage: Mrs. Peter Miller of Chicago, and Mrs. Cortlandt (Katrina McCormick) Barnes

of New York. A son, Medill McCormick, 21 years old, was killed on a mountain-climbing expedition in the Sandía Mountains in 1938, his body being found only after days of search. A great boulder, brought at Mrs. Simms' direction from the Sandías, marks the little ever-green shaded plot in Fairview Cemetery, Albuquerque, where she was interred beside her son. The funeral services took place in St. John's Episcopal Cathedral in Albuquerque, conducted by Bishop James M. Stoney, U. S. Circuit Judge Samuel G. Bratton pronouncing the eulogy. The active pall bearers were: Gustave Baumann, Clifford Dinkle, Hugh B. Woodward, Robert Dietz III, William G. Sganzini and James F. O'Connor.

From a tribute paid Mrs. Simms by Raymond Moley, noted publicist and journalist, in the *Wall Street Journal,* the following excerpt is taken:

"The late Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms had many claims to distinction. But probably the greatest of these was the fact that she inherited from her father the most astute knowledge of political facts and forces that any woman has had in our time. As a young women she was Mark Hanna's companion, assistant and confidante. She was at his side in the epochal campaigns in which he was a principal figure. She saw him as those of his generation knew him—not as the mythical figure which our generation has created out of its imperfect memory. For while Mark Hanna brought to the support of his party the money and the glory and the primitive power of the business community, he was far from being an exponent of boodle and reaction. As an employer he was known as fair with labor, and in his later days as a Senator he was giving attention to the establishment of sound relations between capital and labor. His advocacy of ship subsidies was a far-sighted effort, after the United States had embarked on its Pacific adventure, to build up a great merchant marine as a supplement to a great and necessary navy. If Congress had spent a few of the millions Hanna wanted it to spend then, billions of dollars' worth of hastily constructed ships in 1917 and 1918 might have been saved.

"Ruth Hanna became a mighty factor in the career of her first husband, Medill McCormick. They followed T. R. out of the Republican party and, later, McCormick was a member of the House and, still later, a Senator. After his death, his wife won a brief Congressional career of her own. Her business interests since her retirement from active politics were extensive and successful.

"Mrs. Simms spent nearly 50 years in real political activities. When she achieved public office she did it on her own. She knew the infinite labor of organization, the wear and tear of speech-making, the careful thought which should precede political decisions. To know her was to respect her powerful sense of public reactions, her liberal views on public policies and her intimate knowledge of all sorts and conditions of people. There was nothing spasmodic, emotional or impulsive about her judgments. She thought in terms of long-range policy. And nothing so distinguished her as her warm sympathy for the average human beings who, after all, are the proper beneficiaries of wise political action."

P. A. F. W.

*John R. McFie, Jr.*—Report by the U. S. War Department that John R. McFie, Jr., was killed on February 7, 1945, by enemy action during the shelling by the Japanese of the Santo Tomás internment camp at Manila on Luzón in the Philippines, has brought sorrow not only to his immediate family and other relatives but also to the large number of friends who esteemed him for his fine personality.

The deceased was the son and namesake of the late Judge McFie, a veteran of the Civil War, who for many years was a justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of New Mexico, one of the founders of the Agricultural College and (later) a founder and regent of the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research.

John R. McFie, Jr., was born in Las Cruces, County of Doña Ana, on April 25, 1889. He was a prep. student at the Territorial College (1904-5), but the family home had been moved to Santa Fé in 1899 and there he graduated from

High School. Later at Albuquerque, he completed the business course at the University of New Mexico. Taking the law course at the University of Michigan, he graduated from that institution in June, 1914, and was admitted to the New Mexico Bar, practicing his profession in Santa Fé, Gallup and Albuquerque. A regent of the University of New Mexico, he resigned to join his brother, Ralph, a quarter of a century ago in the Philippine Islands. At Manila he engaged in the practice of law and in extensive business activities, including a hemp plantation on Mindanao.

McFie served in World War I, was cited at Verdun for bravery and was commissioned a lieutenant. In 1928, at Kobe, in Japan, he was married to Dorothy Podmore who was interned with him in Santo Tomás University but was freed by the U. S. troops who took Manila. She was reported seriously ill, but has since then arrived in Los Angeles where she is near the older son, Merwin, a lieutenant in the U. S. Air forces. The other son, Colin, aged 15, is with relatives in Honolulu, Hawaii Islands. Surviving McFie also are a twin sister, Mrs. Lawrence B. Lackey, and Mrs. Lansing B. Bloom (both of Albuquerque) and Miss Amelia McFie of Los Angeles.

On January 30, 1941, McFie was installed as most worshipful grand master of Masons in the Philippines, for the Masonic year 1941-42. *The Cable Tow* of February 1941, published in Manila, supplies some additional data which indicate his professional, business and social activities:

. . . past secretary New Mexico bar association, 1917; admitted to the bar of the Philippines May 1, 1922; past president American bar association of the Philippines, 1934; associated with law firm of Fisher, DeWitt, Perkins & Brady, 1922-25; member of law firm of Ohnick & McFie, 1926-29; head of his own law offices, 1929-41; member of advisory judicial council, 1934; member, board of bar examiners of the Philippines, 1928, 1934, 1935.

Volunteer, First World War; 2nd lieut. 140th Tr. Hq. & M. P. Co. (1917-18) ; 1st lieut. 159th Inf. 40th Div. U. S. Army, A. E. F. (1918-19) ; lieut.-comdr., U. S. N. R.,

L-V(S) 1938-41; 1st vice-comdr. Manila Post No. 1, American Legion (1941).

President, Mineral Enterprise, Inc.; pres., Pasig Boulevard Development Co.; vice-pres., Manila Building & Loan Assoc.; member of B. P. O. E., Army & Navy Club, Manila Polo Club, Manila Golf Club, Wack Wack Golf & Country Club; member, Phi Gamma Delta fraternity.

P. A. F. W.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

*La Villa de Santa Fé.*—Our apologies to the imagination of Ralph Twitchell. Our friend, the Colonel along with his other suave and genial qualities, was not lacking in imagination at times; but we have found that we were mistaken in thinking that he had no authority for the longer form of name for Santa Fé (p. 108, *supra*).

While scanning through W. W. H. Davis' *El Gringo* for some other information, we were startled to find that Chapter II closes with the remark, "and shortly we were within the limits of the city of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis." And again, at the opening of Chapter VII, we find: ". . . Santa Fe, or, as it is sometimes written, *Santa Fe de San Francisco,* the city of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis . . ." This takes us back to 1856—and the query now is, where did Davis get it?

Knowing that he had drawn freely from the classic of Josiah Gregg, we turned to the *Commerce of the Prairies* (ed. 1845), and in Vol. I, p. 143, is the statement: "We sometimes find it written *Santa Fé de San Francisco* (Holy Faith of St. Francis), the latter being the patron, or tutelary saint."

Unfortunately Gregg does not tell us where he had seen the name written in this form, or by whom. Someone may have introduced the change during the short Mexican period (1821-46) ; certainly the invariable useage during the long Spanish period, so far as our observation goes, has been to write the name without any qualifying phrase.—L. B. B.

*Grollet, Grole, Grule, Gurule.*—It seems to have been Bandelier who first called attention to three Frenchmen who, as unmarried youths, were members of the ill-fated La Salle expedition of 1684-85. They were among the few survivors who were found by the Spaniards in the hands of Texas Indians. After they had been examined and released, either from choice or compulsion they decided to remain in New Spain; and some years later, they all showed up in New Mexico.

Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico,* I, 12-15, quotes at considerable length from an article by Bandelier which appeared in the *Nation* of August 30, 1888. It seems that Bandelier had found among some old papers at Santa Clara pueblo an "Ynformacion de Pedro Meusnier, frances —1699." The names of Juan de Archeveque and Santiago Groslee appeared as witnesses, and among other facts brought out was the fact that all three had come from France with La Salle in 1684. In 1699, Meusnier and Archeveque were soldiers of the garrison in Santa Fé; Groslee was a resident of that town.

Said Bandelier further: "There was only one L'Archeveque in La Salle's ill-fated expedition, . . . while Groslee seemed to be Grollet, the sailor," native (as he deposed) of La Rochelle. "I have since found the latter as Grolle and Groli in two official documents now in my possession. As late as 1705 he was a resident of the little town of Bernalillo."

It seems beyond any reasonable doubt that Grollet did settle in the lower valley, and left at least one son named Antonio. The name appears in various documents of the next thirty years and with variant spellings. In fact, the name was then in transition from the French to the Spanish form. In a litigation over water rights in 1733 in "the jurisdiction of the Villa of Alburquerque," one of those involved was named regularly as "Antonio Grole," yet his signature in the same papers is found in the two forms, "Antonio Grule" and Antonio Gurule." (Twitchell, *op. cit.,* II, doc. no. 379) But still more interesting, the same man participated in a council of war at Alburquerque on January 29, 1734, and we find the statement: "Antonio Grolet se conforma en todo con el parecer de el Capitan Martín Hurtado, y lo firma.—Antonio Gurule (rubric)" (Twitchell, *op. cit.,* II, doc. no. 396) It would seem, therefore, that the fairly common family name in New Mexico today traces back to the Frenchman Grollet.—L. B. B.

Public Libr.
Kansas City, Mo.

# New Mexico Historical Review

PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS, SANTA FÉ

July, 1945

*Editors*

LANSING B. BLOOM PAUL A. F. WALTER

*Associates*

PERCY M. BALDWIN GEORGE P. HAMMOND
FRANK T. CHEETHAM THEODOSIUS MEYER, O.F.M.
FRANCE V. SCHOLES

VOL. XX JULY, 1945 NO. 3

CONTENTS

*Page*

A Du Val Map of New Mexico, 1670 . . . . . Frontispiece

The Estancia Springs Tragedy . . . . Charles Pope 189

History of the Albuquerque Indian School (continued)
Lillie G. McKinney 207

The Weapons of American Indians . . . D. E. Worcester 227

From Lewisburg to California in 1849 (cont'd) (ed.) L. B. B. 239

Necrology:

Alvan Newton White . . . . . . . P. A. F. W. 269

Numa C. Frenger . . . . . . . P. A. F. W. 270

Frank Bond . . . . . . . . . P. A. F. W. 271

Reviews and Notes:

The Wild Horse of the West . . . P. A. F. W. 274

A Du Val Map of 1670 . . . . . . . L. B. B. 277

Folks Art Conference . . . . . . P. A. F. W. 279

The NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is $3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are $1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. L. B. Bloom, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

A Du Val Map of New Mexico, 1670

(see pages 276-278)

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XX JULY, 1945 No. 3

# THE ESTANCIA SPRINGS TRAGEDY

By CHARLES POPE

I WAS born and raised in the down-town section of a large mid-Western city where my father was a practising physician. In the spring of a year in the middle eighties when I was a lad of fifteen, my parents became concerned because I was under weight and not very strong for my age. Believing my health would be benefited by a summer in the open air, they arranged to have me spend the vacation period on a ranch in the far West as the guest of an old family friend, a Dr. Edward Henriques. To a city bred boy who was tired of school, whose mind was full of secret longings to be a cowboy, it was a fascinating prospect.

A native of northern Michigan, of French descent, and a graduate of a well known medical college, Dr. Henriques had served several years as an assistant to my father. Both of my parents were much attached to him. In my home, he was like another son. To me, he was like an older brother.

It was the era of railroad expansion and construction. When the Santa Fé railroad, building across the continent, offered the doctor the position of Company physician at the various railhead construction camps, my father believed it a rare opportunity to acquire valuable experience and persuaded him to accept it. But in 1879, when the track reached Las Vegas, he resigned, opened an office for the practise of medicine and married a lady who was a member of a prominent, wealthy and much respected family of Spanish ancestry with extensive land holdings

throughout the territory. My summer was to be spent on a ranch belonging to his wife's family.

The long railroad journey across the great plains was interesting but uneventful. My first stop-over was Las Vegas, formerly a sleepy little Mexican settlement but already transformed into a thriving community with many modern buildings and some six thousand enterprising citizens. The doctor met me at the depot and took me to his comfortable but not pretentious home in the suburbs where I received a cordial welcome from his wife, a beautiful and charming woman, who had been educated in the East and spoke perfect English.

An arresting figure in any company, Dr. Henriques—with greying hair and a close clipped grey mustache—was a tall, slender, broad shouldered, dignified man in his middle thirties. Quiet and soft spoken, with a disarming smile, he made friends easily and was well liked.

During the few days I spent in Las Vegas, the doctor and his wife exerted themselves to entertain me, showing me the sights. I remember they took me to the neighboring "hot springs," to see the palatial hotel the railroad had built to catch the tourist trade, now, I believe, converted into a sanitorium. But the big event was the "grand" Fourth of July ball at the city hall where, to the music of fiddles, guitars and an accordion, I saw ladies in full evening dress dancing with men in tails, white ties and gloves, and in the same quadrille, in true pioneer style, with cowboys in boots and blue overalls.

But the doctor's home was not a cheerful place. I had never been specially observant yet I could not but notice the pall of restrained sadness ever present in the house, the moments tears gathered in the eyes of my hostess. I sensed the trouble was serious altho from the affectionate way the doctor and his wife addressed each other, I was sure they were not having domestic differences. I was puzzled. I did not know it was the aftermath of a tragedy, a shock from which my kindly hostess had not fully recovered but before any outside busybody enlightened

me, the doctor and I left Las Vegas,, taking a train for a station south of Albuquerque.

There we were ferried across the Rio Grande river to one of the many ranches belonging to the family of the doctor's wife where we spent the night. Early the next morning, riding in a buckboard behind a matched pair of thorough-bred driving horses, we started on the first leg of a leisurely trek eastward thru a pass in the mountains, headed for Estancia Springs, another family ranch that was to be my home for the summer. It was a dry country, uninhabited and wild, but the doctor knew the little traveled road and so timed our journey that, when night overtook us, we would make camp at a water hole. Then, after hobbling the horses, he would build a fire and cook supper. Afterwards, as we did not carry a tent, we rolled in blankets and slept under the stars.

The doctor did not wear a belt studded with cartridges or carry a holstered gun on his hip. Except for a broad brimmed felt hat, then called a "Stetson," he did not look like the heavily armed Westerners pictured in the story books but he was not weaponless. Between us, lying on the seat of the buckboard, was a loaded revolver. Not for protection from bandits—the doctor said there weren't any bandits—but to be handy in case we met a bear. To my supreme disappointment, we did not see a bear. The drive was made without an exciting incident.

Altho singularly averse to talking about himself, the doctor could, when so disposed, express himself clearly and concisely but at best he was not a talkative man. Nevertheless he was a pleasant companion, kind and always willing to answer my eager questions, to tell me whatever I wanted to know. Altogether it was a wonderful experience for a boy totally unfamiliar with out-door life.

On the morning of the third day, we were in the foothills with the mountains behind us. Soon the doctor said we were entering a broad valley and at a junction with a more traveled road, we were able to sight the ranch buildings, still far away. By noon, the hills had leveled. In

the evening, we arrived at the ranch. There, ready to greet their employer, the middle-aged American foreman had assembled the cowboy employees, a rough and carefree crew, jolly and playful, half of them young Americans, half of them young Mexicans, all unfeignedly glad to see him.

These cowboys were superb horsemen, experts at roping with the lasso but they did not wear the stunning costumes familiar to patrons of the modern rodeo, "Wild West" show or the cinema. Instead of gorgeous silk neckerchiefs and shirts, their neckerchiefs were cotton bandannas, their shirts flannel. Instead of neatly tailored, doe skin pants, they wore shapeless blue overalls. Instead of "ten gallon" hats, they wore soiled and battered "Stetsons." A few wore chaps, a few wore spurs but their boots, worn down at the heels, were never polished. They seldom shaved, their hair was seldom trimmed and around the ranch house, they never carried firearms. Only on long rides did they wear a belt with a holstered gun, not for fighting but because sometimes they had to shoot a rattlesnake, a coyote or a skunk.

Nowadays people expect a cowboy to sing. Romancers delight in describing him twanging a guitar in the moonlight as he serenades a beautiful young lady but, at the Springs, I found it to be a delusion. We did have many moonlight nights but if there had been a guitar on the ranch, none of the boys could play the instrument and assuming some one among them could sing, which I doubted, there wasn't a young lady, beautiful or otherwise, within miles of the ranch to be serenaded.

But altho the boys had little schooling and few social accomplishments, they knew their business. In their work, they were capable at everything they were ordered to do.

Lying in the midst of a vast dusty plain they called the "Valley," the ranch—with no near neighbors—centered around an inexhaustible running spring. Even in the hottest weather of the dryest season, its overflow kept a shallow lake—about the size of an average city block—constantly filled with cold wholesome water. Later I was

to learn it was the most dependable spring in a country notoriously dry, and that its possession made the ranch a very valuable property, so valuable that greedy men had coveted it, fought and killed for it, and even died for it.

From the lake, as far as the eye could see, the sun-baked, treeless, plain stretched away monotonously flat until it merged with the horizon in every direction except in the west where the blue peaks of the distant mountains showed against the sky-line. Unlike the green fields of the east, the parched uncultivated land—crisscrossed by cattle paths and pockmarked with gopher or prairie dog holes—seemed to me to be sparsely covered with drab colored brush and weeds. Under the bright sun of a cloudless sky, it impressed me as a desolate country, devoid of scenic beauty.

With several hundred brood mares, the Springs was primarily a horse ranch. The lake was only partly fenced and besides their horses and a few head of their own cattle, stock in countless numbers from near and even distant ranches used it freely as a drinking place. No one fed these cows—all the cattle were called "cows"—and certainly they were not fat and sleek. Most of them were lean boney "Texas long horns," so named for their long and formidably pointed horns, but none of them looked starved. Later, among other surprises, I was also to learn that the soil about the ranch was rich, that there was an abundance of coarse grass, that the country was called "good grazing range."

The main ranch house, fronting the lake, was an old, one-story, rambling structure with thick adobe walls, a flat roof and low ceilings. Built with two wings like the letter "u," one wing was the mess hall and kitchen. The foreman and his wife occupied the other wing. Between the wings was a long covered porch. Behind the porch was a row of large rooms, the sleeping quarters of the bachelor cowboys and, with conventional Western hospitality, any strangers who might be passing by.

Nearby were several small adobe shacks or cabins used at various times by Mexican employees when accompanied

by their wives and families. Back of the ranch house was an adobe stable and several pastures. Enclosed by a high and substantial fence was the corral, shaped like a circus ring.

The weather was hot. It was a windy country and as the doors and windows of the ranch house were never closed, it was impossible to keep out the dust. The floors were swept occasionally but life was carelessly indifferent. Flies, mosquitoes, ants and other insect pests flew or crawled in and out unhindered but no one complained or was bothered except perhaps a new-comer and then only until he became accustomed or immune to these petty annoyances.

The doctor's visit to the ranch was for the purpose of representing his wife's family at the annual branding and counting of the Spring crop of colts. Preparing for his coming, the cowboys employed on the ranch had rounded up bands of horses from all parts of the surrounding country and herded them into one of the fenced pastures near the ranch house. At dawn of the morning after our arrival, the work started. In the center of the corral, the doctor, the foreman and several cowboys grouped about a small fire built to heat the branding irons. Then from the pasture, other cowboys cut out approximately thirty head—a few geldings, perhaps a stallion but principally mares, followed, of course, by their colts—drove them into the corral and closed the gate. As the frightened animals seeking to escape, milled frantically, the colts were picked out one by one, roped, thrown, dragged to the center, tied, held down and branded. After all the colts in the band were branded, the gate was opened and the horses turned loose. Then another band was driven in from the pasture and its colts given the same treatment.

Happily seated on top of the high corral fence where I could enjoy the spectacle in safety, I kept tally of the animals branded while marveling at the dexterity of the cowboys. They were not giving a show-off performance but their teaming was perfect. When one of them roped a colt by the neck, another would rope the hind feet and it

seemed to me they never missed. The sun was broiling hot, the air was full of dust and the pungent smell of horse sweat, wood smoke and burnt hair but the work proceeded methodically until, on the first day, some eighty colts were branded.

After supper that evening, while all hands were sitting on the porch in the twilight, resting, smoking and chatting, the foreman told how a stray mongrel dog, a huge vicious beast, probably part wolf, was prowling around the ranch and had already fought and nearly killed his two pedigreed grey hounds, valuable animals he had imported from the East to use in colder weather for coursing jack-rabbits. He had tried to shoot it with a revolver but it was wary and he could not get close enough to hit it. Then he had tried to shoot it with the only long range weapon on the ranch, a 45 calibre Sharp's rifle, but had missed it.

While he was speaking, one of the boys pointed and said, "There he is," and in the distance we saw the animal sitting and watching us.

The doctor said, "Let me take a shot at him."

The foreman went in the ranch house, got the rifle and handed it to him. The doctor stood erect and was raising the heavy weapon to his shoulder when the dog, suddenly alert, bounded to its feet and was already running swiftly across the line of vision before, in one quick movement, he coolly leveled the gun, sighted, fired and—the animal turned a complete somersault. Then it lay still.

Unheeding the murmur of applause from the cowboys, the doctor merely said, "A lucky shot." Then he returned to his chair, laid down the rifle, and as if nothing unusual had happened, rolled and lighted a cigarette. He did not speak of the dog again.

Curious to see the effect of the shot, I accompanied some of the cowboys who stepped off the distance. It was more than three hundred yards. The dog had been drilled thru the body directly behind the foreleg. I had never seen a rifle fired but even to my inexperienced eyes it was extraordinary marksmanship. I quite agreed with

one of the boys whom I overheard saying, "The doctor is a wonder with a rifle." At that time I did not understand why he added, "He is as fast and even better with a six-gun. I'd say he is as good as Billy the Kid ever was."

Like every schoolboy in the land, I had read about the exploits of William Bonney, in life notorious as the bandit "Billy the Kid" but now dead and, by the newspapers, already made into a legendary figure, the typical gun-fighting Western bad man. In this crude way, the cowboy was paying the greatest possible compliment to the doctor's skill by comparing it favorably with the speed and deadly accuracy of a young man who, twenty one years old, was reputed to have shot and killed twenty one men.

Recalling that New Mexico was the scene of many of "Billy the Kid's" activities, I asked, "Did you ever see him?"

He answered, "Certainly. All of us knew him. He stopped here often. Many nights, he slept at this ranch."

Emboldened, I questioned him further. "Was he a big man?"

"No, he was a nice quiet little fellow. Everybody liked him and he had lots of friends around here. If let alone, he wouldn't harm anybody."

By the late afternoon of the second day, some fifty more colts had been branded and the wearisome branding job was finished. The morning of the third day, the doctor returned to Las Vegas and the cowboys were assigned to another job, breaking new riding stock. Living all their working hours in the saddle, each had a string of five or six horses. As the work was hard and exacting, many mounts soon outlived their usefulness and had to be replaced.

During the branding in the corral, likely animals were picked and herded into a separate pasture. These recruit horses were wild. None had ever had a rider on its back or even a bit in its mouth.

The "breaking" took place, not in the corral but in the open. A recruit was roped, thrown, held down and after a wicked curb bit was forced into its mouth, it was bridled

and blindfolded with a thick cloth. Then allowed to stagger to its feet, it was held firmly by the head while it was saddled, the girths drawn tight and to aid a rider in clamping his legs around the horse's body, the stirrups were tied together. Now, with everything ready, the horse was mounted by a cowboy equipped with a quirt and as soon as the trembling animal was released, he lashed it about its forelegs. Mounted on another horse, a helper cowboy lashed its hindquarters. Under this terrific punishment, the frantic horse seldom bucked but would dash blindly out on the open prairie. There, quirted front and rear at every step, it would run until, lathered with sweat, it would finally stop from sheer exhaustion. Then, with all resistance beaten out of it, the horse would be ridden back to the corral, the cowboy would dismount, the blindfold be removed and the animal turned into the pasture. The next day, after putting the horse thru the same ordeal, they maintained it was broken and would stay broken.

In using this method to break horses, these men were merely following established custom. They were not naturally cruel. In reality, they were horse lovers. Few used spurs or quirts and, once an animal was broken, almost invariably they looked after it carefully and treated it kindly.

The doctor left me in the care of the foreman and incidentally, when that worthy man's back was turned, at the mercy of the mischievous cowboys who were waiting impatiently for a favorable opportunity to have fun with me. Not that they disliked me but, to them, I was a green Eastern boy still wet behind the ears, a heaven sent victim for their rough practical jokes. They wanted to test me to determine if I was a sissy or a lad with enough courage to take whatever they gave me without whimpering.

In the afternoon, with the foreman gone to look after a horse that was lying sick a few miles from the ranch house, their opportunity came. They started by asking me if I had ever ridden horseback? When I answered "no" and told them I was anxious to learn, they suggested I begin by riding in the corral where, by an odd coinci-

dence, there was a gentle horse already saddled, bridled and waiting for me.

When all the cowboys accompanied me to the corral, it should have made me suspicious. If I had known anything about horses, I would have backed down when I saw it took two of them to hold the mean looking, restive horse they had chosen for my debut as a rider. But I was gullible and too happy and preoccupied to notice how they nudged each other when I neglected to test the saddle girths, how they grinned when I committed a cardinal sin by mounting the horse from the wrong side, how they laughed when, sitting astride the horse, I told them to "let him go" altho they could plainly see that my feet were barely touching the stirrups. They thought the fun was beginning.

Not having been told that all their riding horses were trained to guide by the pressure of the bridle reins against the neck, I attempted to turn the animal by pulling on the bit. Instead of delighting the expectant cowboys by throwing me, the outraged brute elected to spin around like a top, whirling so fast my feet lost contact with the stirrups and I was forced to cling giddily to the high pommel of the Mexican saddle.

Perhaps purposely, the gate to the corral was not closed. Frightened by the dangling stirrups no less than by his clumsy rider, the horse climaxed his gyrations by bolting thru the open gate. Then with the bit in his teeth and completely out of control, he ran at full speed out on the unfenced prairie with me hanging on to the friendly, life-saving pommel, helpless and fervently hoping he would not step in a gopher hole.

The fun loving cowboys had expected to see me thrown on the soft ground inside the corral but aware of the danger of a fall on the sun baked, hard ground outside, they were alarmed. Fearing an accident, they mounted their horses and pursued me. They had a long chase and only overtook me many miles from the ranch when my horse, breathing heavily and covered with lather, stopped of his own accord.

Crowding around me, they asked me if I was scared? If I had realized my horse was running away, no doubt I would have been terribly frightened but when I truthfully answered "no" and told them I had enjoyed the ride, they were mystified. I had done everything wrong but perhaps I was a real rider and, anticipating their joke, had turned the tables on them.

One of them dismounted and had just finished adjusting my stirrups when my horse bolted again, this time heading for the ranch house. Again I clung desperately to the pommel. Again the cowboys pursued me but my horse was fast and the race did not end until he ran into the corral thru the open gate and stopped. Again the cowboys surrounded me and asked if I was scared? Again they were mystified when I answered "no" and told them it was such a fine ride that I wanted to repeat it the next day.

Meanwhile the foreman had returned and heard of my adventure. After supper, he took me aside and told me he had intended to teach me how to ride by putting me at first on a gentle, well trained animal but the cowboys had taken advantage of his absence and thoughtlessly risked a serious accident by mounting me on a wild, half broken horse. When he told me the horse had ran away with me and he was mighty glad I wasn't hurt, I was careful not to let him see I was shivering at the thought of my narrow escape but, later, when he threatened the crew with disciplinary measures, I realized their fate rested in my hands and hastened to defend them. It was a joke and I begged him to go easy with them.

The cowboys had expected a severe reprimand, perhaps to be discharged. When they heard I had not complained but had taken their part, it made me one of them. From then on, there were no more jokes. They were my pals and would do anything they could for me.

The next morning, the riding lessons started. The kindly foreman was not a talker but he was a good teacher. Intent on learning, I was an apt pupil, absorbed his instructions and made rapid progress. Soon I was allowed to ride alone and as I quickly discovered I was not compelled to

give my entire attention to my gentle horse, I began to look about and make observations. Incidentally, I studied the brands on the cattle using the lake as a drinking place.

After supper a few nights later while I was sitting on the porch gossiping with the crew, I remarked that almost all the cows I had seen around the ranch bore the same brand. But as it was not the brand of the family of the doctor's wife, I wanted to know who owned them? The tight lipped foreman had left us and gone to his room to pass the evening with his wife but the boys undertook to answer me. All of them talked, interrupting and prompting each other. It was confusing and after this lapse of time I can remember little of the exact language they used but I have never forgotten the tragic tale they told.

Among the original white settlers of New Mexico was the family of the doctor's wife. One of them, perhaps her grandfather, probably her father, bought an old Spanish land grant that presumably included the springs and lake at Estancia and the land surrounding the lake. Here the ranch house was built. Here, for many years, members of the family lived, raised horses and cattle, and prospered. Their ownership was never disputed until, a few years before my visit, another old Spanish land grant was bought by a man named Whitney, a Boston capitalist with visions of the profits to be made in the cattle business if gone into on a big scale. His purchase included not only a water hole called Antelope Springs, located some five miles from Estancia, but also included—it was claimed—the springs and lake at Estancia and all the adjoining property. To look after his interests, Whitney sent a younger brother, a big blustering fellow, purseproud and egotistical, domineering and ruthless, a man totally devoid of tact, a braggart who imagined he was a wonderful shot with a pistol.

When the younger Whitney arrived to take charge, he was confronted by conflicting titles. Already settled and raising cattle at Antelope Springs was a rancher who had bought the site from the same people who had sold it to the older Whitney. At Estancia Springs, he found the ranch held by the family of the doctor's wife.

To avoid expensive litigation, the rancher at Antelope Springs sold Whitney his herd of cattle and his rights to the site but when Whitney ordered the family of the doctor's wife to vacate the property at Estancia Springs, they not only flatly refused but would not negotiate with him. If he disputed their title, he could bring suit against them in the courts.

While pondering over his next move, Whitney made his headquarters at Antelope Springs. There he employed a foolhardy fighting foreman and began to buy more stock but soon finding the springs would not yield enough water for his augmented herd, his thoughts reverted to the unlimited supply at Estancia. A scion of great wealth, intolerant of opposition and accustomed to take what he wanted, he decided to act without waiting until the validity of his title was adjudicated by the courts and planned a surprise invasion. Needing reenforcements, he hired seven so called Texas gunmen. With them and his foreman, he raided the ranch, drove off the Mexican foreman and the crew of Mexican cowboys who were in charge in the absence of the owners and took forcible possession of the property.

Manuel Otero, the adored brother of the doctor's wife, had succeeded his father as the head of the family. From all accounts, he was a handsome man, kindly, generous and extremely popular, particularly with the Mexicans residing in the territory. They idolized him. He and the doctor were already on the way to visit the ranch at Estancia Springs when the news of Whitney's invasion reached them. They sent for the sheriff who happened to be in the vicinity. They knew he would gather a posse and come promptly to their assistance but Manuel was impatient and would not wait for them. Unwisely he insisted on pushing ahead without him.

At Estancia they were received in the messroom by Whitney, the fighting foreman and the seven Texas gunmen who filed into the room and took seats along the wall.

Manuel and Whitney did the arguing. Their debate started quietly but quickly becoming heated, Whitney sud-

denly delivered an ultimatum, "You must lay down your arms and leave this place," As he uttered these fateful words, he and the foreman drew their guns.

As none of the boys who talked with me that evening were eye witnesses to what followed, the story they told was, of course, hearsay. It was apparent they were partisans and prejudiced. Maybe they exaggerated. I couldn't say. I can only relate their version of the subsequent happenings.

Altho Manuel Otero was armed, he had not made an aggressive gesture but the impetuous foreman was too cowardly to wait until he reached for his weapon. Taking no chances, he shot him in the forehead, killing him instantly.[1]

Then pandemonium broke loose. Suddenly panic stricken, the seven gun-toting Texans deserted their employer, yelling, cursing and stumbling against each other in a mad rush to get out of the smoke filled room.

No doubt Whitney had intended to support his henchman by shooting the doctor but he was slow getting into action. Maybe he thought a physician could not be familiar with firearms. Maybe he was unnerved by the tumult around him. Maybe his vaunted prowess with a pistol was a bluff. Whatever the cause, his arm was unsteady when he fired. He did succeed in hitting the doctor in his left arm but it was not until after his intended victim—cool and lightning fast—had drawn his gun and shot and killed the treacherous foreman.

Now left to fight a battle single-handed, Whitney made a sorry showing. With less than a table's width between them, his shots were wild and missed but the doctor's shooting arm, his right arm, was not crippled and he did not miss. He shot Whitney, not once but again and again until the badly wounded braggart dropped his gun, fell on the floor and cravenly begged for his life.

In a few brief seconds, the room was a shambles. Of the four participants, Manuel Otero was dead. His gun

1. M. A. Otero, *My Life on the Frontier*, II, 103 gives the date of this killing as Aug. 17, 1883.

had not been fired. The fighting foreman was dead. He had fired but one shot. Whitney lay moaning on the floor, bleeding from many wounds. The doctor had a bullet in his left arm.

As to what happened next, my narrators differed. Some of them, hero worshippers, contended that the doctor—gun in hand and eager to continue the battle—stood in the doorway and made the Texans surrender their weapons. Others said the sheriff's posse, nearing the ranch, heard the firing, hastened and arrived in time to disarm the Texans and—make Whitney a prisoner.

I was thrilled by the story but, to me, it was not completed and I pressed for more details. "Why did the Texans run out after the fight started?" The cowboys laughed and said no one believed they were real gunmen. Besides they had been in the territory long enough to learn of Manuel Otero's standing, especially with the Mexican element of the population, to know their lives would not be worth a thin dime if they took an active part in his murder.

Then I wanted to know why the doctor did not kill Whitney? One of the cowboys shrugged and answered, "Quién sabe? Who knows?" Another said, "Me, I always reckoned he was saving him to be hanged." But he wasn't hanged. The sheriff did take him to Las Vegas. There he was tried for the murder of Manuel Otero and I can well remember my surprise and indignation when they told me he was acquitted "because he did not fire the shot that killed the doctor's brother-in-law" but more likely "because his rich relatives spent no less than one hundred thousand dollars to clear him."

When I asked what had become of Whitney, they said they heard he had gone away to try to recover from his wounds. They thought he would be afraid to ever come back but his Boston outfit still made its headquarters at Antelope Springs and was still in the cattle business on a big scale. It was mostly their stock I had seen around the lake.

To my question why the Whitney cattle were allowed

to water at the lake, they reminded me that it was only partly fenced. The range was free. Anybody's horses or stock could use the lake for a drinking place.

Finally, when I asked if they expected another raid, they laughed again and said they thought the Whitneys were through with raiding. They had had enough.

With the story of the cowboys foremost in my mind, the next morning I cornered the foreman and endeavored to get his version of the tragic affair. I remember how he answered, "We have a good crew but the boys are young and their tongues wag too much. None of us were here in those days. None of us were in Las Vegas during the trial. I suppose all of us have heard plenty but I know the doctor does not like to talk about that killing or like others to talk about it and I keep my mouth shut." The kindly foreman had snubbed me but he had started me thinking and I was beginning to understand the sadness that lingered in the doctor's home, how the tragedy was a subject the family preferred not to discuss even with their friends.

During the days that followed, the time passed pleasantly. I had no duties to perform and could loaf or ride about the country as I pleased. The food at the ranch was abundant and, after I became accustomed to the Mexican cooking, I thrived on it, gaining weight and strength.

Now accepted by the cowboys, I was enamored with the out-door life they led until, at the urgent request of the line-riders, I visited and spent several days and nights with each of them in turn. These men lived alone in little shacks, miles distant from the ranch house and from each other. Craving companionship and delighted to have me as a guest, I was made very welcome. I found that riding the line from sunrise to sunset was interesting and sometimes exciting but at night, when I realized the line-rider had no one to talk to and nothing to do but eat, smoke and sleep—perhaps read if there was anything to read—I saw the monotony and loneliness of his in-door life and was disillusioned. The glamour of the cowboy faded and I was glad I did not have to remain there permanently but could return to my home and finish my education.

In early September, with the arrival of the doctor in his buckboard, I was quite satisfied to drive back with him, cross-country, to Las Vegas. Not that I regretted the summer at the ranch. I had enjoyed every minute of it and I believe now I would have always felt frustrated if I had not been given the opportunity to see the cowboy, not as the fiction writers made him but as he actually existed in those days.

On the ride out from the ranch as on the ride in, the doctor was kind and friendly but he did not mention the tragedy and I did not have the temerity to mention it to him.

After a few quiet days resting at the doctor's home in Las Vegas, I left by train for my own home in the middle-West. There my parents encouraged me to tell them about my holiday on the ranch but when I started to talk about the battle at the Springs, my father stopped me. He and the doctor were close friends and, as they exchanged letters, it is reasonable to assume my father knew all about the sad affair. I am sure my father sympathized with the doctor to the fullest extent but, like the foreman on the ranch, whatever he knew he kept to himself. I cannot remember hearing the tragedy discussed in my presence. In fact, I never heard the doctor's version of the battle.

I was sent away to college, graduated and was soon engrossed in a business career. At long intervals, fragments of news about the Springs reached me. I remember hearing that the U. S. courts had refused to validate the land grant purchased by the one time head of the family of the doctor's wife because of a flaw in the title. Thus the land covered by the grant became public domain, open to settlement by homesteaders. A few years later, my very slight link with the doctor and his family was broken by his untimely death.

Many years later, I heard that Whitney, after a lingering illness, had died from his wounds. Then when I heard the U. S. courts had refused to validate the land grant purchased by his brother, the Boston capitalist, also because of a flaw in the title, I could not but think of the futility of the battle at the Springs. It would seem that

neither of the combatants had a clear title to the land they claimed and fought over, that the blood had been shed in vain.

I have never returned to the Springs but, with the passage of time, I am told there are amazing changes. Today, where cowboys rode, where great bands of horses and vast herds of Texas long horn cattle roamed, there are productive farms and orchards. Today, the ranch house is gone. Only the lake remains, now the center of the public park of the typical American town of Estancia, a county seat with a fine water plant, railroad connections, paved streets, electric lights, sanitary sewers, public schools, a city hall, a public library and every modern improvement, already the home of more than a thousand progressive citizens. Few among them remember the sanguinary encounter at the Springs. Where a people live in the present and look forward to the future, a tragedy of bygone years is apt to be forgotten.

# HISTORY OF THE ALBUQUERQUE INDIAN SCHOOL[1]

*By* LILLIE G. MCKINNEY

*(Continued)*

## CHAPTER IV

### REMODELED INSTITUTIONAL LIFE

THE place left vacant by the resignation of Mr. Burton B. Custer February 17, 1908, was filled the following day by Mr. Reuben Perry, formerly supervisor at Washington. Mr. Perry had had fourteen years of experience as a school man in the government service working among Indians. He had handled many delicate situations successfully, and had won the respect of his superiors.

Perhaps the two positions which he held that had the most influence on the Albuquerque Indian school prior to his superintendency at this place were his achievements among the Navahos and the Hopis. On October 1, 1903, he was appointed superintendent of the Indian school and agency at Fort Defiance, Arizona.[1] While there, he found that the young men were devoting too much of their time to gambling. The head men of the tribe were invited to a powwow and so convincing were Perry's arguments that the leaders gathered up all the cards that could be found on the reservation and brought them to the agency to be burned.[2] Through wholehearted cooperation many problems of a serious nature to the Navahos were solved. Mr. Perry served in this capacity until November 16, 1906, when his splendid efforts were recognized by his appointment as a supervisor to the Indians. As a result, he was sent to the Hopi country accompanied by two companies of troops and charged with the difficult mission of settling a civil war that had broken out at Oraibi, between two factions led by Yukeoma on one side and Tawaquaptewa on the other. The belligerents were soon quelled, and Mr. Perry and the troops departed.[3] The Indian office next sent him

1. Personal interview with Mr. Reuben Perry March 24, 1934.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

to various reservations and schools to help settle vexatious religious problems that had arisen.[4] After settling these, the remainder of his time until February 16, 1908, was spent as special investigator among Indian schools for the commissioner of Indian affairs.[5]

These were fruitful years that fitted him peculiarly for the superintendency of a growing boarding school because it gave him an opportunity to work out practical applications of an educational philosophy acquired in his work and study of Indians in the schools and on the reservations. Furthermore, his special dealings and experiences with the Navahos at Fort Defiance and with the Hopis at Oraibi familiarized him with the Indians of the Southwest to such an extent that the Indian school at Albuquerque was benefitted greatly by his appointment.

Upon taking charge of the school,[6] he found no friction existed between the previous superintendent and the missionaries and priests. Nor did he permit ill-feeling to arise during his administration. While supervisor, he had learned the evil results on the Indian schools, of religious quarrels, and had avoided arousing discontent among them by working out a program agreeable to all the religious denominations represented at the school, and then adhering to it rigidly. Such a program enabled missionaries and priests to devote all their allotted time to the religious instruction of the children; the results were gratifying. A better feeling existed among the student body.

Most of the children of Mexican descent had been removed by 1908. However, Mr. Perry discovered that thirty-five Mexican students were still enrolled. They were allowed to remain until June 1, when they were dismissed. In this situation, as in previous situations, the superintendent was tactful. He did not discuss the Indian-Mexican issue with the parents of the latter at the time their children were dismissed, but instead filled their places with

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Mr. Perry entered upon his duties at the Albuquerque Indian School at a salary of $1,800 per annum (an excellent salary for a superintendent of an Indian school to receive in 1908).

full blood Indians from the reservations. When the Mexican children applied for enrollment in the Indian school, he refused admission on the ground that he was obeying instructions from the Indian office: first, to admit only those children that could prove their Indian blood; second, to admit those children living out of reach of either an Indian day school or a public school. Furthermore, he stated that the capacity of the school was taxed to care for those already enrolled, hence it would be impossible to re-admit the Mexican children that had been dismissed, and that those children excluded from the Indian school would suffer no evil consequences since the city schools were friendly toward Spanish speaking children.[7]

Ministers from the various churches in town took their turn in conducting services Sunday evening at the school. Pupils who were affiliated with denominations attended their respective churches each Sunday morning. The Sisters of the Catholic church came to the school every Saturday in the afternoon and on Sunday in the afternoon to instruct pupils belonging to their church. All religious work was attended with harmony.[8]

Literary work showed satisfactory advancement considering the changes made among employees.[9] Four pupils graduated from the eighth grade. Eight girls were given lessons on the piano and a good band was maintained by the boys under the instruction of the shoe and harness maker. The closing exercises were interesting and instruc-

---

7. *Annual Report*, pp. 1-2, 1909.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, p. 6. Employees relieved of duty were: Fleming Lavender, shoe and harness at $600 per annum (for poor health); Addie E. Lavender, teacher, $600 (to accompany husband); Ada M. James, assistant seamstress, $400 (resigned February 29); Katie E. Custer, matron, $660 (to accompany husband); Catherine McMinn, assistant cook, $480 (discharged April 17); and E. H. Colegrove, disciplinarian, $800 (transferred to Chilocco, Okla., at the request of Superintendent Wise). New employees coming to the school were: Carrie G. Walworth, assistant seamstress, $400 a year; Emma C. Beeler, matron, $660; Mary E. Metzler, nurse, $600; Mary E. Perry, clerk, $780; Katie House, assistant matron, $300; Hattie J. Hickson, matron, $660; John T. Hickson, assistant cook, $480 (temporary); William E. Henley, carpenter, $720; Mrs. E. H. Colegrove, assistant seamstress, $400; Mable E. Egeler, teacher, $600; San Juan Naranjo, shoe and harness, $600; Mrs. Grace Osborne, assistant matron, $540; and Edwin Schanandore, disciplinarian, $800.

tive.[10] The local paper[11] gave the following account of the program given at this time:

> The oration, 'How We Do Things', by George Martin was to the point and showed both careful thought and good training in delivery. The demonstration which followed showed the different trades taught at the school. Practical illustrations in carpentering, shoemaking, wagonmaking, blacksmithing, and dressmaking. This feature was especially interesting as it showed those present that the government is striving to give the Indian practical working education, both literary and industrial, and those advocating more manual training in the schools, would do well to pay a visit to the Albuquerque Indian School.

The girls received, during the year, instruction in housework, sewing, cutting, fitting, laundering, and cooking; the boys were trained in carpentering, blacksmithing, wagon making, engineering, shoe-making, cement work, agriculture, especially landscaping and gardening.

A new office building and a residence for the superintendent were erected during the year. All the carpenter work, plumbing, installation of the heating plant and of the lighting system was done by the school boys.[12] The plant was improved in appearance by painting a number of the buildings, by planting 200 trees, by sowing part of the grounds to grass, and by removing the wornout plank sidewalks.[13] A dormitory was built for the small boys and a mess hall for all the children.[14] Recommendations were made for a new dormitory to take the place of the old structure for large boys, and a new barn to increase the efficiency of the school.

During the year seventeen girls worked for families in Albuquerque and earned from ten to fifteen dollars a

---

10. *Annual Report*, pp. 1-2, (1909).
11. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, May 29, 1908, p. 2, col. 2.
12. *Annual Report*, pp. 1-2, (1909).
13. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
14. *Ibid.*

month. It was impossible to supply the demand for this kind of help.[15] Besides those children working in Albuquerque fifty-three boys went to Rocky Ford, Colorado, to work in the beet fields.[16]

An event of importance to the school was the appointment of Clyde M. Blair, September 18, 1910, as principal teacher at a salary of $1000 per annum.[17] Mr. Blair was a strong man, had administrative abilities, and was thoroughly qualified for the position. He had charge of the kindergarten, primary, and grades; taught classes, supervised the library, literary societies, and was coach of athletics.[18] In addition he acted for the superintendent when he was visiting Indian day schools under his jurisdiction. His two chief virtues, efficiency and industry, were responsible for his rapid promotions.[19] At the close of the fiscal year, 1910-1911, Mr. Perry had written to Cato Sells, commissioner of Indian affairs, recommending that the position of principal teacher be abolished and the position of principal be created in its place for Mr. Blair, at a salary of $1,400 per annum, because this title would give him the prestige that he needed and deserved.[20]

Evidently Mr. Blair filled the new position creditably since the academic and industrial departments were made to function more efficiently by raising the standards and broadening the scope of work.[21]

---

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. Letter from Reuben Perry to Cato Sells (date on letter destroyed).

18. Address by John Milne, superintendent of the Albuquerque city schools, to the Albuquerque Indian School graduates, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 31, 1934. Mr. Milne in his introductory remarks to the graduates said: "Mr. Blair who for one year now has directed the affairs of this institution was principal of the high school here twenty years ago. At that time I was also a high school principal and it was my good fortune to work with Mr. Blair to work out a program of athletics and other activities between the United States Indian School and the Albuquerque High School. That was before the day of athletic associations to watch the eligibility of players and to guard against the infringement of the rules that make for good sportsmanship, but even in that period the boys of this institution were known for their cleaness and willingness to lose the game rather than stoop to unfair tactics."

19. Personal interview with Mr. Fred Canfield, head of auto mechanic shop of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, February 6, 1934.

20. Letter from Perry to Sells (Note 17 *supra*).

21. A study of courses of study covering this period (undated but signed by Mr. Blair). Cf. address by Superintendent John Milne to the graduates of the Indian school: "From this school in Mr. Blair's time came Indian boys and girls to the

Perhaps the most significant feature of the fiscal year, 1910-1911, was the adoption of the state course of study for the purpose of fitting Indian pupils to enroll in the regular school system when the time arrived for them to do so.[22] This was a forward step also toward higher education since higher institutions of learning might accept the graduates of the Indian school because they had studied the courses outlined by the state superintendent for the public high school children of the state.

The most outstanding feature of the year, 1911-1912, was the record made by the athletic department coached by Mr. Blair.[23] In football, the Indian team defeated the Menaul team twenty-seven to zero on November 2, and twenty-two to zero on November 11.[24] The Albuquerque High School won over the Indians by a close score of six to five on November 18, to capture the Interscholastic championship.[25] The most spectacular game of football ever played by the Indian team was played with the Las Vegas Normal at Las Vegas, New Mexico, November 28, 1912. The Indians "massacred" the Normalites sixty-two to zero. "Halo Tso, the Indian fullback, and Left End Shipley played a spectacular game and incidentally gained the most territory for the visitors."[26] In baseball the Indians won from Menaul on March 18. Platero for the Indians proved invincible, striking out sixteen mission men. The score was nine to two, and according to the local press the Indians

---

Albuquerque High School who had been inspired to go further than it was possible to take them. Among those who did attend were some of the choicest characters of the Southwest, and several today are themselves in the Indian Service. Others are holding responsible positions where no question is asked but ability to do the job well. The vision and ability of Mr. Blair in those early days as head of instruction did much to place good behavior as a matter of intelligent action rather than because of fear of punishment."

22. William Peterson, supervisor of Indian schools, "Indian Education," *New Mexico Journal of Education,* V. 8, No. 15, pp. 57-58.

23. From a personal interview with Clyde M. Blair March 25, 1934. The victories in athletics, 1911-1912, for the Indians were due to the fact that Mr. Blair had secured the services of Coach Hutchinson of the University of New Mexico to coach the Indian boys in his spare time.

24. *Albuquerque Morning Journal,* Friday, Nov. 3, 1911, p. 3, col. 1, Cf., *Ibid.,* Sunday, Nov. 12, 1911, p. 3, col. 1.

25. *Ibid.,* Sunday, Nov. 19, 1911, p. 3, col. 1.

26. *Ibid.,* Friday, November 29, 1912, p. 3, col. 4.

shut out the University on April 1 with a score of seven to zero. This game was at Traction Park.[27] Certainly athletics played an important part in the school for both boys and girls.[28]

A kindergarten, primary, and eight regular grades were maintained.[29] The state course of study was used which made it possible for the graduates to enter the local high school. The grade work was equal to the work done in the city schools of Albuquerque.[30] It is a creditable fact that graduates of this school have held their own in the larger Indian schools wherever they attend them, and that they have uniformly made good citizens after leaving school.[31] The boys' band was under the direction of Edwin Schanandore, disciplinarian, and performed creditably.[32]

Good citizenship,[33] the development of the body, the necessity of living health, the ideals of the Christian religion, the desirability of learning a trade,[34] and a love of the best in music and in books became deep fundamentals upon which the program for the school was built. Each department of the school specialized in teaching a particular

---

27. *Ibid.*, Sunday, April 2, 1912, p. 3, col. 3.

28. *Ibid.*, Sunday, February 25, 1912, p. 7, col. 7. "Athletics are encouraged and the boys make great showing in baseball and football. Their football team yearly plays several games with the University of New Mexico in which they acquit themselves with credit.—Their football team has the reputation of being the hardest playing aggregation in the city." Girls do not neglect athletics, however.

29. See appendix of typed thesis for list of graduates for 1911-1912.

30. *Annual Report*, p. 4, (1912).

31. *Ibid.*, p. 4, Cf., *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, February 25, 1912, p. 7, col. 6.

32. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Sunday, Feb. 25, 1912, p. 7, col. 6.

33. Address of Superintendent John Milne to the graduating class of the Indian School, May 31, 1934: "Here (Albuquerque Indian School) they have been prepared for the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship. The part they have played in the relationships of the school has given them an understanding of the spirit of fairness, justice, intelligence, and goodwill. Here they have learned the importance of honesty and cooperation. Here has been taught that one must subordinate his selfish interests to the needs and wishes of others."

34. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Sunday, Feb. 25, 1912, p. 5, col. 2. "Some idea of the size and importance of the United States Indian School considered one of the most successful and extensive of the non-reservation schools, may be gained from the interesting fact that 1,500 pairs of shoes a year, five pairs for each one of the 300 odd students, and over 140,000 loaves of bread are necessary every year for the footwear and the nourishment of the phalanx of boys and girls now being trained at this big institution under the supervision of Superintendent Reuben Perry.

"Everything around the Indian school is done by Indians. They make beautiful mission furniture; they lay the sidewalks, and set up the wagons, and their mechanical work shows the highest kind of skill and accuracy."

phase of the scholastic program.[35] All employees were urged to lead the Indian children to accept this program.

Improvements moved forward during the fiscal year, 1911-1912. Sleeping porches were added to both the boys' and the girls' dormitories,[36] new bathing facilities were installed in the girls' dormitory, some employees' cottages were improved, a steam heating plant was installed in the school building, picket fences were built, and a new brick barn was built very commodious and well arranged.[37]

When asked to participate, the school band furnished music for various city and state functions, for Mr. Perry kept before him the ideal that it was the duty of the school to teach the children that service to the city and state was demanded and expected of its citizens.[38] Furthermore, schools or individuals interested in scientific research among the Indians of the Southwest found a sympathetic helper in Mr. Perry.

By 1912 twenty-four acres of the school farm had been

---

35. Such departments were: scholastic, athletic, hospital, industrial, and missionaries.

36. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Sunday, February 25, 1912, p. 7, col. 1. "The boys' and girls' dormitories are equipped with great sleeping porches with their long rows of iron beds, each pupil keeping his or her bed in apple pie order, and all garments being neatly hung up in the locker rooms. The perfect order and system is everywhere noticed throughout the institution. The sleeping porches have large windows close together so that the pupils sleep practically in the open air. Perfect sanitation is a feature of the building throughout."

37. *Annual Report*, p. 8, (1912). Cf., *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Sunday, February 25, 1912, p. 7, col. 1. "Superintendent Perry declares the large brick barn 50x80 ft. which has recently been finished is the best barn in the Indian Service, particularly when its cost of $8000 is considered.

"The lower floor is devoted to stables, carriage and wagon house and accessories while a vast loft is used for the storage of hay and feed in immense quantities."

38. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Thursday, Nov. 27, 1913, p. 8. col. 4. "The Wednesday morning session of the N. M. E. A. was opened with splendid number by the Albuquerque Indian school band. The military uniforms and soldierly bearing of the A. I. S. players presented a striking picture on the stage and their playing was one of the big hits of the convention. They gave 'A Day in the Cotton Fields,' in a spirited manner, breathing at once into the assembled hearers a certain life and vigor and interest such as nothing so much as band music can produce.

"They were splendidly received and loudly and insistently encored, but they did not make a second appearance, owing to the fact that there was so much business still to be attended———."

Members of the band were: L. P. Mix, Vicenti Garcia, Isaac Anallo, Manuel Gonzales, Porfirio Montoya, Jose Sanchez, Abel Paisano, Herbert Zoyze, Antonio Jose, Loyaro Chaves, Joseph Arling, and director (Schanandore).

reclaimed and brought to a high state of cultivation[39] by flooding it with silty river water, plowing and working it up for several years, and planting to cane, corn, and such crops. After such vigorous treatment it became free from alkali and was ready to be sown to alfalfa or any other crop.

In 1912-1913 ten grades were being maintained. The work was of good quality since the graduates were able to enter the city high school. Four additional acres of the school farm were reclaimed. The boys had done well with their work in agriculture, for their products were valued at $5,000.[40] A large addition was built to the girls' dormitory to care for an increased enrollment of forty-five. An entirely new steam heating plant was installed in this building.[41]

Mr. Perry's agitation for permission to increase the school enrollment got results in 1914 when Congress authorized an increase of 100 in enrollment. This victory led him to renew his fight for a huge building program which finally

---

39. Report on the Soil of the School Farm, 1913 (Macy H. Lapham, inspector Western Division).

"Soils of the Indian school grounds and farm are recognized under the type name of Gila fine sandy loam. It is typically pinkish gray to light reddish or yellowish brown color. The reddish tint is usually pronounced. The material is usually without gravel and is of a friable structure under cultivation, but is readily maintained in good condition of tilth.

"When moist it is quite sticky and inclined to puddle and bake upon exposure, particularly under conditions of poor drainage where it is not subject to cultivation for some time.

"The subsoil generally consists of alternating layers or strata of clays, loams, and sands. Frequently the sand is quite coarse and porous. The clay is stiff and relatively impervious to water.

"The sand is usually in six feet borings. In the clay nodules or concretions of lime carbonate are frequently found.

"Drainage is poorly developed. The water table is within a few feet of the surface. The methods practiced by Mr. Armijo seems effective (that of deep plowing, leveling, dyking, and flooding the land).

"From one to two years of flooding is necessary. It is plowed deeply previous to the flooding so that leaching of the salts from the soil is hastened."

40. From an old report found in the office files of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, dated December 4, 1913. Levi Chubbuck, agriculturist, wrote that "Supt. Perry and Mr. Armijo, school gardener, successfully overcame a serious alkali condition. It was believed that an expensive artificial drainage system would be necessary to reclaim the land. Mr. Armijo is worthy of large commendation for what has been accomplished through close practical observation at the expense of considerable labor and time but without initial expense of installation of drains or other improvements requiring a high cash outlay, and with quite satisfactory results in vegetables and farm crops."

41. *Annual Report*, p. 5, (1913).

materialized in part with the aid of the chamber of commerce, and friendly congressmen who were actively engaged in the interests of the school. A plea was made for a sufficiently large appropriation to build a shops building; a domestic science building to cost $7,000; a double cottage for employees; and a gymnasium and assembly hall to cost $25,000. If built, these additions would represent a much greater value than the appropriation indicated because the boys would do the carpenter work under the guidance of the carpenter instructor.[42]

The state course of study which had been adopted for the Indian School in 1910 was used until 1915[43] when a tentative course of study for Indians[44] along more practical lines was prepared under the direction of the commissioner of Indian affairs and required in the various government schools.[45] The results obtained here in various phases of school work were commendable. Especially interesting was the exhibit at the State Fair.[46]

---

42. *Albuquerque Morning Journal,* Saturday, Dec. 6, 1913, p. 8, col. 2. "Supt. Reuben Perry of the United States Indian School, yesterday was advised from Washington of the approval of the plans for improvements at the school to cost $20,000. The improvements will include a domestic science building, a shop building, and a double cottage for employees. Edward Lembke, contractor, will do the building, the Whitney Company will install the heating and plumbing, and the material will be purchased of the Albuquerque Lumber Company, the City Sash and Door Company, the McIntosh Hardware Company, and the Ilfeld Company. Boys of the Indian school will do the masonry and carpenter work." Cf., *Narrative Report,* p. 6, (1914). The title *Annual Report* was changed to *Narrative Reports* after 1914.

43. Cf. Note 21 *supra.*

44. Office of Indian Affairs. *Tentative Course of Study for Indians,* p. 5, (1915). "The economic needs of all people—of the Indians especially—demand that schools provide for instruction along eminently practical lines. To this end industrial schools have been established in which the culture value of education is not neglected, but rather subordinated to the practical needs of the child's environment."

45. *Albuquerque Morning Journal,* Sunday, Dec. 5, 1915, p. 8, col. 1.

46. *Ibid.,* Monday, November 22, 1915, p. 5, col. 1. "The exhibit by the United States Industrial school of Albuquerque, is a blue ribbon winner. The prizes awarded it at the state fair are pinned to various objects, serving to draw detailed attention to them. A display of tools made from steel, is a marvel. A hat crocheted by a sixteen year old Pueblo girl is bound to win the admiration even of a trained milliner. The knitting, tatting, embroidery, patchwork, darning, penmanship, drawing, and other exhibits are proof of proficiency of teacher as well as receptiveness of pupil. Quite attractive are botanical essays illustrated with specimens of wood, leaf, and flower, as well as blue print photograph of the trees described. Several illumined mottoes suitably framed are works of art and also please because of the good cheer, hope, joy, and optimism expressed in the verses. Altogether the exhibit is one that it would do good to send to every city of the United States to prove that even the Indian is becoming a useful and self-supporting citizen."

Two unfortunate events happened in the school during the fiscal year, 1915-1916: first the transfer of Mr. Blair to the principalship at the Carlisle Indian School, under Superintendent O. H. Lipps, which increased the duties of Mr. Perry; and, second, an epidemic of la grippe affected, at one time, 180 pupils. To increase the difficulty Doctor C. Leroy Brock, in charge of the health department the greater part of the year, was transferred before the close of the term and promoted.[47]

By the end of the fiscal year, 1915-1916, the school plant had become a well-kept village, consisting of sixteen brick buildings, twenty frame, and one adobe, a large brick hog-house, six pens with a large room for slaughtering, an assembly hall with a seating capacity of 700 (costing $25,258.40, but worth $35,000), and two water tanks erected on steel towers costing $2,225.[48] In addition considerable new equipment was purchased for the hospital.[49] Mr. Perry's recommendations at this time provided that the laundry building should be torn down, moved to a more desirable location and rebuilt on a larger scale; that the mess hall should be enlarged to care for 450 pupils; and that an entirely new library building should be built.[50]

The new industrialized program provided for a primary, a kindergarten, a pre-vocational, and a vocational course with special emphasis on agriculture. The change from the old to the new was done with little friction; the employee force was efficient, loyal, and co-operated for benefit of the school.[51] There were ten graduates from the tenth grade.[52]

Supervisor H. B. Peairs delivered the graduation ad-

---

47. *Narrative Report,* p. 1, (1916).

48. *Ibid.,* p. 7.

49. *Ibid.,* p. 1. An electric sterilizing outfit, a nurses' desk with filing cabinet, temperature and clinical history sheet, nebulizer, and compressed air outfit for treatment of nose and throat trouble, and one operating table with facilities for storing dressings and solutions.

50. *Ibid.,* p. 7. The school accommodations were for 400 pupils, but more were crowded in than were best for the children. This accounts for Mr. Perry's insistence on adding more rooms and sleeping porches to the dormitories.

51. *Narrative Report,* p. 9, (1915).

52. The names are given in an appendix of the typed thesis at the University of New Mexico Library.

dress in 1916, and other distinguished guests who visited the school during the year were: Special Agent Brown, Supervisor Newborne, Assistant Supervisor Coon, and Inspector Trailer.[53]

> According to the local paper[54] the year just closing has been one of the most successful, in the history of the local Indian school. Mr. Perry the superintendent, has brought the school to a high state of efficiency. His work at the local school has been generally recognized by the Indian Department officials as being extremely satisfactory.

## CHAPTER V

### DURING AND FOLLOWING THE WORLD WAR (1917-1922)

The year 1917 was a successful one, but a trying one. The loss of Mr. Blair as principal was keenly felt, and war activities overshadowed all other activities. George F. Dütt,[1] a school man of only average ability, had succeeded Mr. Blair and it was necessary for Superintendent Perry to exercise personal supervision in both the academic and the industrial departments.

Many vacancies also occurred and the following positions were unfilled: teachers of agriculture, farmer, disciplinarian, and domestic science.

Mr. Perry was very much concerned by a proposal to increase the enrollment up to 600.[2] Special Agent Calvin H. Asbury wrote that the school was the logical place for an increased capacity, and that the only additional expense would be the building of a dormitory and the employment of a matron.[3] During the year a building was erected

53. *Narrative Report*, p. 10, (1916).
54. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Thursday, June 1, 1916, p. 8, col. 4.
1. *Narrative Report*, p. 4, (1917).
2. Personal interview with Mr. Reuben Perry, March 31, 1934. The enrollment was increased to 500 by the close of the fiscal year.
3. *Narrative Report*, p. 7, (1917).

large enough to house the laundry and the sewing department.

There were no serious infractions of discipline during the year, but sixty boys deserted.[4]

The Sisters of St. Joseph's hospital were willing to take Indian girls sufficiently advanced to take training in nursing.[5]

Commissioner Sells, Supervisor Peairs, Inspector Traylor, and Special Agent Asbury visited the school during the year. "The school has been greatly benefitted by suggestions made by these officials, by their becoming acquainted with the work the institution is endeavoring to do, and by the aid received as a result of such visits."[6]

Mr Dutt resigned in 1920 to enter child welfare work, and Mr. J. C. Ross[7] assumed charge temporarily. After a few months he was relieved by D. C. West who remained in charge of the school until 1921 when he was transferred to Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas. Fred M. Lobdell next served until 1922 when he, too was transferred to Haskell Institute. Throughout his principalship Mr. Lobdell spent part of his time amusing his friends playing a mouth organ instead of introducing progressive methods of teaching.[8] Mrs. Isis L. Harrington was promoted to the position left vacant by Mr. Lobdell, and filled the position with credit to the school.

The period, 1916-1922, was one of mediocrity so far as the principals of the Albuquerque Indian School were concerned, but was one of fruitfulness beginning in 1917 with the arrival of Mrs. Harrington, a teacher from the Sac and Fox Indian School at Stroud, Oklahoma, and continuing until her withdrawal from the school in 1933.[9] From 1917-1922 she developed a technique for teaching Indians of the Southwest so successful in practice that it

---

4. *Narrative Report*, p. 7, (1917).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
7. Mr. J. C. Ross did excellent work. Mr. Perry recommended that he be appointed permanently to this position.
8. Personal interview with Mrs. Isis L. Harrington, April 30, 1934.
9. Personal interview with Mr. Reuben Perry, March 31, 1934.

gained for her the appointment as principal of the school in 1922. Many worthwhile activities begun under her supervision spread from the school to the pueblos, to the hogans, and to the tepees of the Indians of the Southwest. It was partly her efforts that aided the Albuquerque school to rise to a place of first magnitude among the Indian schools of the Southwest.[10] Fortunate, indeed, was the school to be so ably led by Mr. Perry, upright, energetic, and experienced, assisted by so versatile and sincere a principal as Mrs. Harrington proved to be.[11]

School work was disrupted generally during the fiscal year, 1917-1918, because of war activities and the enlistment of sixty-four Indian boys[12] in the United States army and navy. This was remarkable coöperation with the war work committee considering the fact that the entire enrollment of the school had reached only 470 of both sexes (188 girls; 282 boys). It is possible that such a large enlistment coming from the school was due largely to the efforts of Superintendent Reuben Perry,[13] for he required them from the time they were enrolled in the school until

---

10. Edwin Grant Dexter, *A History of Education of the United States*, p. 463. This book lists the Indian School as such.

11. The following data came from a personal interview with Mrs. Isis L. Har--rington, May 1, 1934. Mrs. Harrington holds a B.S. degree, a B.A. degree from the University of Southern California, and is working on her Master's requirement in the last named institution.

She taught many years in Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri. From 1915-1917 she taught in the Indian school of the Sac and Fox at Stroud, Oklahoma, and from 1917-1933 in the Indian School at Albuquerque, and was an instructor at the Las Vegas Normal School during the summer session of 1933.

She is author of many political articles (one of much interest to the school is "Lo, the Poor Taxpayer") ; educational books (such as *Eagle's Nest* and *Komoki of the Cliffs)*; short stories, reviews, and stories for anthology (as *Juan, the Yaqui)*. Her Indian stories are authentic.

12. For complete list of names of the Indian School veterans see appendix of the typed thesis, University of New Mexico Library.

13. Card of appreciation from John R. Mott, director general of the general committee to Reuben Perry, found in the office files of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico (undated): "The General Committee of the United War Work Campaign wishes to convey to Mr. Reuben Perry an expression of appreciation and gratitude for devoted and effective coöperation in helping to ensure the success of this great patriotic undertaking. In these momentous days, signalized by the victorious ending of the great world struggle and the ushering in of a new era, those who made possible this greatest voluntary offering in the history of mankind have rendered inestimable service to the men of the military and naval forces of the United States and her allies, to the homes from which they came and to the nations which sent them forth."

they graduated, to be taught the principles of good citizenship (including military drill, proper flag etiquette, and obedience to superiors as a part of their regular work).

Of all the letters from the enlisted boys to Superintendent Perry not one spoke of being dissatisfied because he had joined the war forces; instead in almost every case the writer expressed the desire that he might do more for his country. The Indian School was saddened by the death of Paul Yazza (killed in action), but felt a great need for doing their "bit" to help in the great struggle.[14] As a result renewed activity caused the Indian School to become the center of war work, various groups competed with each other in furnishing the most aid to those enlisted.

The four literary societies of the Indian School sponsored a money-raising campaign which netted $725. Of this sum the Webster literary society raised the greater portion.[15] Not only did the pupils remaining in school coöperate in furthering the war work, but reports concerning the Indian boys who had enlisted indicated that they were making splendid soldiers.[16] So many of the band boys had enrolled that the organization was unable to function as such. Those enlisting made either the army or the navy band; a fact of which the school might be justly proud.[17]

---

14. *Pow-Wow*, p. 3, 1929. (*Yearbook* of the Indian School). "To the sixty-four A. I. S. boys who participated in the World War and in loving memory of our schoolmate, Paul Yazza who rests in France, the Class of 1929 dedicates *The Pow-Wow* of 1929."

15. See letter of Reuben Perry to Private Tootsana Teller, December 17, 1918.

16. *Narrative Report*, p. 4, (1918). Also, Letter of Harry Spencer to Reuben Perry, June 23, 1918.

"Marfa, Texas.
8th Cavalry

"We are getting along very find, we have drill every day, in the morning's we have drill on horseback and in the afternoon we drill on foot, we don't have hard time our drilling nor on horses (the plains Indian boys love horses and are splendid horsemen), because we knew how to drill, so there is no trouble for us (the Indian boys in the local school were given a rudimentary course in the military handbook), besides we knew how to ride on horses but the rest of the white boys are having a hard time on drilling and on horses, so we had to show them how to do the thing right.

"We four boys are always right on the spot and we are doing our best and do what we are told to do, we don't care how hard it is.

"——— We like the army life very much.

"Harry Spencer."

17. Cf. list of those in service.

Trades taught the pupils at the school were of value to the boys in placing them in the army service. Possibly this was one of the factors that made them like army life.[18]

A service flag was made and kept during the World War by the Minnehaha literary society.[19] It contained one gold star (that for Paul David Yazza) and sixty-three white ones.[20] There is no complete record in the Indian school files of the boys who saw actual service in France.[21]

Of the Indian boys enlisted in the World war not one deserted or wilfully disobeyed the command of his superior officer. When these boys received their honorable discharges they found useful and gainful work as soon as possible in the railroad shops, some on the reservations, while others were given positions in the Indian Service.

---

18. Letter of Tootsana Teller to Reuben Perry, June 20, 1918.

"Fort Bliss, Texas

"I am a horse shoer here and I like it very much. I am proud and thankful for all the education the government gave to me while I was in school. I am glad I have a better education than most of the white boys that are around here (the army Alpha test proves this.) I have had already showed them I had learned something of different trades. Many of them think I had some college education (possibly result of industrial training), but I told them I wish I had it. I went into the troops and started drilling. I knew the manual of arms and some other things. I had an argument many a time about that. Some say that I had gone to military school, and the rest say I was in the service before. This shows that if a person gets down to business he or she can prove to the rest he can do something when he tries to.

"I was a member of the track team and pitched for the 5th Cavalry regimental baseball team and now I am in football team, in the first team. Now, I surely would like to go to school some, but as some of them say my country needs me, but if I ever get a chance to go to school I will tackle it harder.

"Yours truly,
Tootsana Teller."

19. *Pow-Wow*, p. 102 (1932). This flag was burned in the fire that destroyed the auditorium, February, 1922.

20. *Ibid.* Under the Coolidge administration a certificate of appreciation was given the school by the president of the United States containing the names of the Indian boys whose stars were on the service flag. This certificate of appreciation was framed and hung on the walls of the auditorium.

21. Letter of Private Chee Dah Spencer to Reuben Perry, June 24, 1918.

"Camp Doniphan
Battery E. 11 F. A.
For Sill, Oklahoma

"——— Well, Mr. Perry we are going to leave for France tomorrow morning at 4:30 and so I will say goodbye and say to the children at school I am always ready to stand right beside my country—that is the reason why I enlisted in the army—this is all I can say. I will close with best regards to you, all the teachers, and the school.

Private Chee Dah Spencer."

Edward U. Tysittee, a Zuñi ex-service man was given the position of farmer in his Alma Mater, and a very successful farmer he became.

These boys returned with vision, courage, and the will to foster cordial relations among their tribes of the Southwest because they had had enough of the tremendous cost in lives, suffering and hatred in the army.

They did what representatives of the United States government told them to do; and they came back, not disgruntled, but searched until they found work.[22]

Though 1918 was a difficult year, Mr. Perry managed to have completed an addition to the dining hall, a warehouse, and a large cowshed. At this time, 1918-1919, he was making plans for a new dormitory for girls and one for the boys to provide room for 600 pupils.[23]

During the World War period Mr. Perry took upon himself two big fights (1) to get an appropriation sufficiently large to install a new sewerage system and (2) to increase the per capita apportionment. Concerning the sewer, Mr. Perry wrote Congressman B. C. Hernandez and to the commissioner of Indian affairs that the sewerage system at this time had been constructed in 1900 and was nearly two miles in length. In addition it was connected to the city sewer on Fourth Street, and was near the surface. This did not give sufficient fall and made it necessary for the manholes and service to be at or near the surface. This arrangement was not satisfactory. Mr. Perry was unable to secure an appropriation for a new system, but he was not discouraged and continued to ask for its construction until authority was granted.

And the second fight,[24] for an increased appropriation, was necessary because of the increased cost which threatened the whole school during and immediately following

22. Personal interview with Mr. Perry, June 1, 1934. Also, personal interview with Edward U. Tysitee, May 28, 1934.

23. *Narrative Report*, p. 7, (1919). Mr. Perry urged his new building program to the following distinguished visitors: Hon. E. B. Merritt, assistant commissioner, Mr. O. H. Lipps, supervisor of education, Mr. E. B. Linnen, chief inspector, Mr. H. T. Brown, special agent, Mr. W. G. West, supervisor, Mr. H. G. Wilson, supervisor, and Mrs. Elsie C. Newton, supervisor.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

the World War. The cost of living had increased seventy-nine per cent, and without an increase in the per capita cost from $167 to at least $225 the school would have to omit the richer, fuller courses in the industrial department. Mr. Perry asked and received the support of Senators A. B. Fall and A. A. Jones, B. C. Hernandez, congressman at large, the Rotary Club,[25] and H. B. Peairs, superintendent of Haskell Institute,[26] Mr. Perry was unable to persuade congress to increase the appropriation to $250, but did get the per capita cost increased to $200 during the fiscal year.

With two exceptions the employee force during the fiscal, 1919-1920, was willing, efficient, and loyal.[27]

In this connection Mr. Perry wrote to the Indian Office:

> New employees entering the service, as a rule, are not as good as those who have been in the service for some time. The best people are not attracted by the meagre salaries offered while the best employees in the service are constantly resigning to accept better positions outside. We rarely lose an inefficient employee, but the better class are constantly leaving the service. The effect is the lowering of the personnel.[28]

He recommended that a bandmaster, an assistant disciplinarian, and a competent domestic science teacher should be appointed for the following year.[29]

Mr. Perry also wrote the Indian office that the plant should be enlarged to care for 800 or 1000 pupils since the Indian population was so large and so many children were without school facilities. This school was the nearest non-reservation school to the great Navaho, the Zuñi, Hopi, and some other Pueblo tribes.[30] This increase would necessitate the building of two dormitories, remodeling

25. Letter of the Rotary Club to Hon. B. C. Hernandez, July 22, 1919.

26. Letter of H. B. Peairs to Reuben Perry, Dec. 6, 1919.

27. *Narrative Report*, p. 5, (1920). A domestic science teacher and a temporary disciplinarian.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

and enlarging the school building, and installing a new sewerage system and a central heating plant.[31]

Pupils were less restless since the close of the World War, and consequently showed more interest in their school work.[32] The standing in morality was high.[33] There were no incorrigibles nor any criminally inclined.[34] Seven of the pupils graduated from the tenth grade,[35] and most of the pupils were trained sufficiently to make their way in the world without becoming a burden upon the government.

In January, 1921, sixty-five pupils contracted measles.[36] Otherwise school progress moved forward about as usual. Those graduating planned to assume leadership by their industry, for vocational instruction and guidance had given them ambition, poise, and efficiency; and had kept them in school at a time when they were most susceptible to the vices of the reservation.

The sentiment was growing in favor of more advanced education. A majority of the seniors were entering either Haskell Institute or the local high school to finish the eleventh and twelfth grades.

It was noticeable to those visiting the pueblos and reservations that returned students were enlarging or building new homes. They were helpful rather than lazy or discontented as pictured by some writers.[37]

The health of the children for the fiscal year, 1921-1922, was rather alarming.[38] An influenza epidemic during February and March was responsible for the illness of 392 pupils. There were ten cases of pneumonia; ten of tuberculosis (eight pulmonary and two glandular), and six

---

31. *Ibid.*,

32. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 7. Also, personal interview with Mrs. Isis Harrington, May 17, 1934. "In hundreds of original stories I have never had a pupil to indicate that a child told a parent an untruth, though it might save him some inconvenience."

34. *Narrative Report*, p. 8, (1920).

35. For names, see Appendix of typed thesis.

36. *Narrative Report*, p. 2, (1929).

37. Personal interviews with Miss Isadora Lucero, graduate of the Albuquerque Indian School, March 31, 1934; also, Mrs. Lucy Clark, graduate of the Indian School, May 16, 1934; and Mrs. Alice Shields (a teacher who spent many years at Oraibi) May 15, 1934.

38. *Narrative Report*, p. 3, (1922).

trachoma operations. The individual towel system was in use in the dormitories and the hospital. All the buildings were fumigated (both during and after the epidemic), and the pupils weighed monthly.[39]

One of the newest and best buildings, the auditorium and gymnasium, was destroyed by fire February 12, 1922. This was a great loss, and occasioned many annoyances and inconveniences. Mr. Perry was discouraged over this loss, but set to work with renewed energy to secure an appropriation for a new structure. He was greatly encouraged to know that, due to recommendations of the Indian office and the efforts of other friends, congress had appropriated $42,500 to rebuild the structure.[40] By the close of the fiscal year plans had been made and an invitation for bids on material had been posted. All was ready for the erection of a new building.

Hence, the World War period, 1917-1922, brought many disappointments, feverish activities, and some compensations, including an increased building program, an increased enrollment, and an end to the unrest among the students.

*(To be concluded)*

39. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

# THE WEAPONS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

*By* D. E. WORCESTER*

The weapons used by the American Indians were much the same among all the tribes and regions. Most common were the bow and arrow, the war club, and the spear. These arms differed in type and quality among various tribes, partly because of the materials used, and partly because of the lack of uniformity in native workmanship. Bows were made of various woods as well as strips of ram and buffalo horn, and ranged in length from about five to three feet. Arrows also were varied, some being of reed, and others of highly polished wood. Points were of bone, flint, or fire-hardened wood.

The coming of Europeans to North America eventually caused a modification of native arms. In some regions European weapons were adopted and used almost exclusively. Elsewhere they were used to a varying degree, depending on their availability and effectiveness under local conditions. European innovations popular among the Indians were firearms, iron hatchets, knives, and iron or steel arrow points. And in the Southwest where the country was open and horses plentiful, the lance became a deadly weapon in the hands of a mounted warrior.

Although this paper is not meant to be comprehensive, a few words on the observations of Columbus are included. The natives of the Caribbean seen first by Columbus had no weapons other than a crude dart or spear tipped with a fish's tooth. The Tainos of Española described the warlike Caribs and their bows and arrows to Columbus. On one part of the island, the Arawaks were found to be armed with bows and arrows, the first of these weapons seen by the Spaniards in the Indies.

The Caribs generally were well-supplied with bows,

---

* The opinions contained herein are those of the writer, and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or of the naval service at large.

D. E. Worcester,
Lieut. SC USNR

arrows, clubs, and spears. They used the shinbones of their Arawak victims for making arrows, and poisoned them with hydrocyanic acid taken from the cassava plant.

The earliest descriptions of American Indian arms are to be found in the journals of the Spanish explorers. The soldiers of the Narváez expedition to Florida found that Spanish armor was unavailing against Indian arrows. Some men declared that they saw red oaks the thickness of a man's leg pierced through by arrows. The bows used by the Indians of Florida were said to be as thick as a man's arm, and of eleven or twelve palms in length. The Indians reputedly were so accurate that they rarely missed at two hundred paces. Cabeza de Vaca observed that when two tribes were at war and exhausted their supply of arrows in battle, it was customary for both parties to return to their villages, even though one side might be much stronger than the other. He told of Indians of the coastal region of Texas who bought wives from their enemies at the price of a bow or some arrows for a woman.

De Soto found the Southern Indians ready for war at any time, and extremely skilful in combat.

> Before a Christian can make a single shot with either [crossbow or arquebus], an Indian will discharge three or four arrows; and he seldom misses . . . Where the arrow meets with no armor, it pierces as deeply as the shaft from a crossbow. Their bows are very perfect; the arrows are made of certain canes, like reeds, very heavy, and so stiff that one of them, when sharpened, will pass through a target. Some are pointed with the bone of a fish, sharp and like a chisel; others with some stone like a point of diamond; of such the greater number, when they strike upon armor, break at the place the parts are put together; those of cane split, and will enter a shirt of mail, doing more injury than when armed.[1]

When the Coronado expedition penetrated the South-

1. *Spanish explorers in the southern United States, 1528-1543* . . . ed. by T. H. Lewis and F. W. Hodge. (New York, 1907), 148-149.

west and Plains, a soldier was killed in the Sonora valley by a poisoned arrow which made only a slight scratch on his hand. Probably it was an Opata arrow, as that tribe was known to use poison in later days. The Pueblo Indians seen by Coronado had the usual weapons: bows, arrows, and war clubs. During the journey on to the Plains in search of the Gran Quivira, Coronado's soldiers saw a Teya Indian (Hasinai) shoot an arrow clear through both shoulders of a buffalo bull. From the Teyas the Spaniards learned a novel way to keep on the right course when crossing the trackless plains. At sunrise, the Indians selected the route they intended to travel to the next waterhole, and then shot an arrow in that direction. Before reaching this arrow, they shot another over it, and in this way continued all day long without getting off their course because of the absence of landmarks.

Espejo described the weapons of the Pueblo Indians in 1583:

> Their arms consist of bows and arrow, *macanas* and *chimales;* the arrows have fire-hardened shafts, the heads being of pointed flint, with which they easily pass through a coat of mail. The *chimales* are made of cowhide, like leather shields; and the *macanas* consist of rods half a vara long, with very thick heads. With them they defend themselves within their houses.[2]

In 1598, Oñate visited the buffalo-hunting tribes on the edge of the Plains, and described their weapons as very large bows after the manner of the Turks. Their arrows were tipped with flint, and they used some spears. These Indians killed buffalo with one shot while hiding in brush blinds at the watering places.[3]

A description of the weapons of the Indians of Virginia about this same period, was left by William Strachey.

> Their weapons for offence are bowes and arrowes and wodden swords; for defence,

2. H. E. Bolton, ed. *Spanish exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706.* (New York, 1916), 178-179.

3. *Ibid.*, 230.

> targetts. The bowes are of some young plant, eyther of the locust-tree or of weech (witch hazel), which they bring to the form of ours by the scraping of a shell, and give them strings of a stagg's gutt, or thong of a deare's hide twisted. Their arrowes are made some of streight young spriggs, which they head with bone, two or three inches long, and these they use to shoote at squirrells and all kind of fowle. Another sort of arrowes they use made of reedes: these are pieced with wood, headed with splinters of cristall or some sharp stone, with the spurs of a turkey cock, or the bill of some bird feathered with a turkey feather . . . To make the notch of his arrowe, he hath the tooth of a beaver sett in a stick, wherewith he grateth yt by degrees, his arrowe hedd he quickly maketh with a little bone . . . of any splint of a stone . . . of an oyster shell . . . and these they glue to the end of their arrowes with the synewes of deare and the topps of deare's horne boyled into a jelly, of which they make a glue that will not dissolve in cold water. Forty yards they will shoote levell, or very neare the marke, and one hundred and twenty is their best at random.
>
> Their swordes be made of a kind of heavy wood which they have . . . but oftentymes they use for swordes the horne of a deare put through a piece of wood in forme of a pickaxe. Some use a long stone sharpened at both ends, thrust through a handle of wood in the same manner . . . but now, by trucking with us, they have thousands of our iron harchetts, such as they be.[4]

As soon as the Indians learned to use iron for arrow points and other purposes, they preferred it, and employed it whenever it was obtainable. The bows of the Creek Indians were described as a kind of Yew, almost as strong as English bows. Their arrows were long and of reeds. Arrow points were of bone, flint, or pieces of knife blade.

4. W. Strachey. *The historie of travaile into Virginia Britannia . . .* (London, 1849, for the Hakluyt Society), vi, 105-106.

When none of these were available, they used a piece of notched hardwood which pierced as deeply as any of the others. In warfare in the woods, the Indian warrior stood behind a tree, and, with his arms around it, discharged arrows with great accuracy.

When fur traders began going among the tribes, the Indians soon added to their stock of weapons, as warfare generally was the most important element of tribal life. The hatchet, or tomahawk, replaced the war club of the Southern tribes. Tomahawks were deadly weapons; they could be thrown with great effectiveness, and were extremely destructive in hand to hand fighting. Scalping knives were much prized trade items, as were iron arrow points.

In the forest areas of the South, the natives found that European weapons, especially the gun and tomahawk, were eminently more practical for warfare than their own bows, arrows, and clubs. In 1728, William Byrd of Virginia wrote that in hunting as well as in warfare, the Indians used nothing but firearms purchased from the English. The bow and arrow was out of use. Byrd maintained that this was a condition favorable to the English, as he believed that the Indians had been able to do more damage with bows and arrows.[5] Other accounts verify the fact that the Indians of the Virginia region very soon forsook their bows for guns.[6]

In the 1770s, Adair found the Cherokees adept in the use of guns and bows. He declared that they could make most necessary repairs to their guns, and that they made the finest bows and the smoothest barbed arrows he had seen.[7] When war parties were in enemy territory, they always hunted with bow and arrow, to escape detection.

In the Southwest, the Indian trade of the Spanish soon had an effect on the weapons used by the natives. The

---

5. W. Byrd. *The writings of Colonel William Byrd . . .* ed. by J. S. Bassett. (New York, 1901), 97-98.

6. S. Kercheval. *A history of the valley of Virginia.* (4 ed. Strasburg, Va., 1925), 276.

7. J. Adair. *The history of the American Indians . . .* (London, 1775), ed. by S. C. Williams, (Johnson City, Tenn., 1930), 456-457.

situation there differed from that of the Southeast, in that the country was open, and there soon were many horses. Further, the Spaniards, unlike the French and English, prohibited the sale of firearms to the natives, though they did supply them with knives and axes. However, the tribes near French Louisiana soon acquired firearms. By 1722, the Hasinai had so many guns that they no longer used bows, arrows, and shields except in mounted warfare. Mounted warriors usually carried a bow, a quiver of arrows, a lance, and a small round buffalo-hide shield.

Most of the mounted tribes protected their horses in battle by use of leather armor, after the Spanish fashion. The Apaches, Comanches, Pawnees, and others were very skilful with the bow and arrow, and also used a lance which was like the end of a sword inserted into a wooden handle.[8] They carried leather shields, and wore leather jackets and caps.[9] Their arrows were pointed with iron whenever it was obtainable.

In 1759, when Parilla's force was routed by the Taoavayas and their allies in a pitched battle, the Indians were found to be well armed with French guns, pistols, sabres, and lances, all of which they employed more skilfully than the Spanish soldiers. They were entrenched in their village, and apparently had ceased using the bow and arrow in warfare.[10]

The Lipan Apaches used in addition to the usual weapons, French guns obtained from the Bidais. The other Apache tribes were more remote from Indians that traded with the French, and were without firearms.[11] From 1750 on, the Comanches were supplied with firearms, but as they fought mainly on horseback, they continued to use bows and arrows, and were very formidable with the lance.

---

8. P. Margry, ed. *Découvertes et etablissements des Français . . .* (6v. Paris, 1876-1886), vi, 312.

9. J. A. Morfi. *History of Texas, 1673-1779.* (2v. Quivira Society, Albuquerque, 1935), i, 89-90.

10. *Ibid.*, ii, 391-392.

11. H. E. Bolton, ed. *Athanase de Mézieres and the Louisiana-Texas frontier, 1768-1780.* (2v. Cleveland, 1914), ii, 153.

The explorer Pike described the weapons of the western Apaches:

> Their arms are the bow and arrow, and the lance. Their bow forms two demi-circles, with a shoulder in the middle; the back of it is entirely covered with sinews, which are laid on in so nice a manner, by the use of some glutinous substance, as to be almost imperceptible; this gives great elasticity to the weapon.[12]

The Apache arrows were about three and one-half feet long, the upper part consisting of a light rush or cane, into which was inserted a shaft of hardwood about one foot in length. The point was of iron, bone, or flint. When one of these arrows entered a man's body, and an attempt was made to remove it, the shaft would come loose and leave the point in the wound. The Apaches shot their arrows with such force that one would go through a man's body at 100 yards. Their other offensive weapon was a lance about fifteen feet long, which they held in both hands above their heads when charging, meanwhile guiding their horses by their knees. With this weapon an Apache was considered more than a match for any Spanish dragoon in single combat, but because of a lack of knowledge of tactics they never could stand the charge of a body in concert. All carried shields, and a few had firearms.[13] Only the lancers were mounted. Although spears were used by the Indians before the coming of the Spaniards, the use of the lance in the Southwest apparently was adopted from the Spanish at the same time that the Indians acquired horses and learned horsemanship.

Warfare on the Plains before the coming of white men generally was not very destructive. A Piegan chief told of battles his tribe had with the Snake Indians early in the eighteenth century. When the two war parties met, both made a great show of their weapons and numbers, as was the customary procedure. Their arms were bows,

---

12. Z. M. Pike. *The expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike . . .* (new ed. 3v., New York, 1895), ii, 749.
13. *Ibid.*, ii, 749.

arrows, spears, and stone-headed clubs. After some singing and dancing, the two parties sat down on the ground at a respectable distance from each other, and placed their shields before them. These shields were very large, and provided ample protection for a man. The Snakes were well guarded by their shields, but in some cases the Piegans had to use one shield for two men. The bows of the Snakes were smaller than those of the Piegans, but of better wood, and reinforced on the backs with sinews, which gave them great strength. The Piegans had iron headed arrows which did not pierce completely the Snake shields. After a lengthy discharging of arrows, both sides retired, without either leaving any casualties on the field.

A few years later, another combat took place in which the same chief participated. This time the Piegans had more iron headed arrows, and a few guns. The Snakes had no guns, and apparently did not know of their use. They outnumbered the Piegans, and had many short stone-headed clubs for close combat. The Piegans feared an onrushing attack, as it would have been disastrous for them. After the usual singing and dancing, the two lines formed. Most of the Piegans waited for night to fall so that they could escape, but at the war chief's order they closed the lines to about sixty yards so the guns could be tried. So effectively did the Piegans use their firearms, that in a few hours the Snakes began to steal away from behind their shields, and a general rout ensued in which fifty scalps were lifted.[14] Soon after this battle the Snakes began to fight on horseback in the Northwest.

A trader among the Northwest Indians in the 1780s said that the Mandans and Gros Ventres had guns, pistols, and swords, and plenty of ammunition. These Indians had not given up the use of the bow and arrow, however, but still used them exclusively for hunting, and kept the guns for warfare.[15]

---

14. J. B. Tyrrell, ed. *David Thompson's narrative of his explorations in western America.* (Toronto, 1916), 329-331.

15. A. P. Nasatir, ed. "Spanish explorations of the Upper Missouri," in *Mississippi Valley historical review,* xiv, 65.

In 1797, David Thompson described the Mandans' weapons:

> The native Arms were much the same as those that do not know the use of Iron, Spears and Arrows headed with flint; which they gladly lay aside for iron; they appear to have adopted the Spear [lance?] as a favorite weapon. It is a handle of about eight feet in length, headed with a flat iron bayonet of nine to ten inches in length, sharp pointed, from the point regularly enlarging to four inches in width, both sides sharp edged; the broad end has a handle of iron of about four inches in length, which is inserted in the handle, and bound with small cords; it is a formidable weapon in the hands of a resolute man.[16]

The Mandans had few guns at this time, as their only source was the small trading parties which reached their villages. They had shields of bull hide which would turn an arrow or a spear, but not a bullet.[17]

The Snake Indians were late in acquiring firearms, and they consequently suffered in their wars with more fortunate tribes. They made excellent short bows of buffalo horn strips, and they used war clubs and lances. The Snakes west of the Rocky mountains had no knives or hatchets, and few guns.[18] The possession of firearms by the tribes in contact with fur traders gave them a great advantage over their enemies. A widespread dislocation among the Northwestern tribes took place in the eighteenth century. The Chipewayans, supplied guns by the French, forced the Blackfeet and Sioux out of the forest regions onto the Plains. The Blackfeet, and Sioux, armed later by the English traders, crowded the Snakes, Salishans, and Kootenais out of their hunting grounds.[19]

---

16. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 228.

17. *Ibid.*, 228.

18. M. M. Quaife, ed. *The journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway* . . . (Madison, 1916), 268.

19. H. A. Innis. *Peter Pond, fur trader and adventurer* . . . (Toronto, 1930), 120. The acquisition of horses by the Blackfeet and Sioux was also an influence on their movement.

In 1774, Sioux horsemen were seen wearing a garment described as being like an outside vest with short sleeves, made of several thicknesses of soft skins. These garments were similar to those worn in battle by the Southwestern Indians, and would turn an arrow at a distance. The Sioux warrior rode with a shield slung over his shoulder to guard his back. The weapons used by the Sioux were bows, arrows, spears, and a few firearms. A band of Teton Sioux met by the Lewis and Clark expedition had also some cutlasses and steel or iron pointed arrows.[20]

A weapon which horsemen of the Plains used with deadly effect in close combat was the *pukamoggan*, a war club made of a round stone enclosed in leather, and slung to a shank in the form of a whip. It was developed from the war club formerly used, and adapted to mounted combat. The tomahawk did not replace the *pukamoggan* of the Plains warrior as it had the *macana* of his Southeastern counterpart, as the tomahawk was less effective for mounted warfare.

Some Plains tribes preferred the use of bows and arrows for warfare, and made no effort to acquire guns. Among these tribes were the Crees and Assiniboines. In mounted combat, the short but powerful horn bow was more useful than a gun, as the latter was difficult to reload. While a man was reloading his gun, he could easily be killed by a thrust of a lance, or by a flurry of arrows.

West of the Rocky mountains the Indians were to obtain but few firearms until the nineteenth century. The Flat Heads fought on horseback, and always carried two bows and two quivers of arrows, with which they defended themselves very expertly even in flight.[21] Alexander Henry described the bows used by the Indians west of the mountains as of three kinds, all neatly made. The first was a short bow made of a slip of ram's horn. The outside was left undressed, but overlaid with several layers of sinew glued to the thickness of one-third of an inch, and then

20. Ordway, *op. cit.*, 142.

21. L. J. Burpee, ed. *Journal of Larocque from the Assiniboine to the Yellowstone, 1805.* (Ottawa, 1910), 72.

covered with rattlesnake skin. These fine bows were about three feet long, and could throw an arrow an amazing distance. They were best suited for use on horseback. Another bow was of red cedar, about a foot longer than the horn one. The third type was the plain wooden bow. Said Henry:

> These people make the handsomest bows I have ever seen—always preferred by other Indians. I have known a Piegan to give a gun or a horse for one of those made of sinew.[22]

The Klatsup Indians of the Columbia river region wore leather armor of well dressed moose hide, which was hung loosely over their shoulders. It would deaden the force of an arrow or spear, weapons with which that tribe was very dextrous.[23]

Iron arrow heads were in great demand even among the tribes that could obtain guns, as they were more effective than flint points against buffalo hide shields. Guns were preferred for warfare, but iron headed arrows were widely used, as the supply of firearms and ammunition was limited.

The Indians of the Northwest used a spear six to eight feet in length, with an iron or steel head. The spear is a footman's weapon, but was used by mounted warriors. In the Southwest, where Spanish influence was strong, the horsemen used a lance of about fourteen feet in length.

There were but few tribes that used poisoned arrows. Thompson told of Indians living near the Columbia river who used rattlesnake venom to poison their arrow points. To avoid risking the loss of warriors from snake bite, this tribe employed aged widows in collecting the poison. The poisoning of arrows was not generally popular among the natives of North America.

The changes which European arms caused in the use of native weapons are easy to trace. Less obvious are the modifications which European arms and armor underwent

---

22. E. Coues, ed. *New light on the early history of the greater Northwest. The manuscript journals of Alexander Henry . . .* (3v. New York, 1897), ii, 713-714.
23. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 507-508.

as the result of lengthy conflicts with tribes such as the Apaches, Comanches, Iroquois, and Creeks. The Spanish very soon gave up the use of metal armor in their New World campaigns. Leather armor was found more suitable in the Southwest; elsewhere the quilted cotton jackets of the Mexican natives were adopted by the Spaniards as the best protection against arrows. Spanish officials of St. Augustine and Pensacola frequently petitioned the King for additional suits of "Mexican armor."

From the fact that warfare between colonies and Indians was sanguinary and destructive, it has been assumed that inter-tribal warfare had always been equally devastating. Undoubtedly a warrior took equal delight in lifting the scalp of an enemy tribesman as that of a paleface. But inter-tribal warfare of pre-Columbian days generally was more of a dangerous contest for the amusement of the men than an attempt at annihilation. If more facts were available, it might become apparent that the systematic destruction of entire villages came about largely as the result of colonists of one nation inciting Indians against the settlements of another nation and those of their Indian allies. The fact that the Europeans drove tribes from their hunting grounds was, of course, an important factor in inspiring the Indians to make a desperate stand. Indian warfare was cruel and pitiless; but it was not usual that any one tribe was sufficiently overwhelming in strength to destroy another tribe unaided. The sway which the Iroquois held for a time over many tribes was made possible by their control of the gun trade out of Albany. Even with this distinct advantage, they were eventually overcome by tribes which the French urged against them.

## FROM LEWISBURG TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849

(Notes from the Diary of William H. Chamberlin)

*(Continued)*

*Edited by* LANSING B. BLOOM

---

### CHAPTER XV

Monday, Aug. 6.—Found an abundance of beans for our stock this morning, and concluded to remain for the day. Indeed, ourselves as well as animals require a day for resting and recruiting; but some of the mules took it in their heads to stray, and kept us running all day in search of them. A mule completely jaded and unfit for service, will frequently wander miles from camp during a night. Had bean soup for all hands to-day, which luxury we cannot afford more than once in two weeks. Franklin came up to-day with a company of emigrants; he had lain on the mountain without water, expecting to die. We knew this company would be along to-day, or we should have gone back after him.

Tuesday, Aug. 7.—Started at 12½ o'clock this morning, purposing to stop at daylight to feed and breakfast. While we were packing, another pack company came up, and took possession of our deserted camp. Did not find a blade of grass, or bean, until 4 o'clock p. m., when we came across a little grass, growing upon a sand bar in the river. We stopped and unpacked twice during the day, to rest the weary animals, and intended encamping several times, without feed, but fortunately did not. Distance, 35 miles—1835.

Wednesday, Aug. 8.—Remained in camp until dark this evening, when we packed up and started. Instead of rest to-day, which we so much need, we were kept on the look-out and in search of our animals all the while, which seem determined to leave us at every opportunity, and seek better fare or better masters. Thus far, however, we have been fortunate, having lost but the one, carelessly left behind, several hundred miles back. The channel of the river has become very wide, more than a mile in many places, but at present is at its lowest stage, although it increases gradually as we near its mouth. The growth of cotton wood and other timber, has continued about the same,

throughout its course. But nothing can exceed the barren, godforsaken appearance of the country, on the north and south side as far as the eye can reach; one sterile hill rises after another, and mountain after mountain, the desolation of the scene unbroken by a single tree or living object. The heat of the day being so intense, we are now compelled to travel at night; the sand in the road is very deep, which makes travelling very laborious, and it is hot enough to scald the legs of the animals. What would seem strange, although so near the river, we frequently suffer for want of water; the underbrush and weeds prevent our getting to it. For the last two or three weeks, we have seldom encamped within less than a mile of the Gila, and it was often with a great deal of difficulty that we could get at it, besides carrying the water that distance.

Thursday, Aug. 9.—We unpacked about 1 o'clock this morning and rested until daybreak, when we repacked and continued our journey. At 10 o'clock a. m. we halted to prepare breakfast, which occupied an hour's time. Here we found a bush shelter from the sun, which had been put up by some advance company. The day is excessively hot. After breakfast (if such it can be called) we started. Passing over several low, barren sand hills we emerged upon a sand plain, stretching off to the south and west as far as the eye could reach. Never will I forget the sensations that come over me when I first gazed upon this scene. The crossing of the Colorado, and the desert beyond, had long been the subject of speculation and dread. From the information we had, we had every reason to expect many difficulties and troubles in passing this important point in our journey, but nothing could exceed our anxiety to realize it, for we imagined that once beyond the jornada, the greatest obstacle in the route would be overcome and we would soon reach the settlements of California. Well, on our right we could see the course of the Gila river, flowing westward, marked by the line of cotton wood on its banks, and the mesquite timber stretching for some distance over the plain. On the south we had the broad, barren, sandy plain, which we know to be the valley of the Rio Colorado, although we could not distinguish the river or its course; and on the west, nothing but a high and apparently desolate waste, bounded the horizon. A hazy atmosphere hung over the scene, on fire, as it were, by the intense heat of the sun, the rays of which are reflected upward by this immense mirror of sand; all combined to form a picture at once grand, gloomy, and fore-

boding. Our road kept within the range of the mesquite timber, and we had traveled but a few miles when we found some beans. The condition of our animals obliged us to stop and unpack, which we did about 1 o'clock, and two hours were spent in gathering the beans for the mules. Towards evening we found a suitable encamping place in a grove of mezquite; had an abundance of beans and some coarse grass on the border of a lagoon, which connected with the Gila. Here we found a small company encamped who informed us that we were within two miles of the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers. This was joyful news to us for we could turn our backs upon the Gila now, with as much pleasure as we first beheld, drank and bathed in its cool and limpid waters, which have since gradually changed into a broad, heated, turbid and brackish stream. In the course of our journey along the river we have forded it upwards of one hundred times, and many times the apparently impassable mountains which bound its course seemed to bid defiance to the efforts of our weary animals and selves. The Yumas Indians had stolen several mules from these men, which is an irreparable loss to them. There is a village of them on the north side of the river, directly opposite, but not in sight. We had scarcely reached camp before we were visited by a number of them. We exchanged one or two animals with them, but did not better ourselves much. Distance, 40 miles—1875.

Friday, Aug. 10.—Howard and myself walked down to the upper crossing about a mile below the junction. The majority of the emigrants have crossed at this point, while some have gone down a few miles to Gen. Kearney crossing. We found some fifteen or twenty men here, busily engaged in ferrying over their baggage, and employing Indians to swim over with the mules. They had a wagon body which they had managed to make water-tight, and answered the purpose tolerably well, although it is a slender boat in this "torrent of waters." The Colorado is here about 350 yards wide, deep enough to float a "man o' war," and a very swift current. In crossing the boat is carried down half a mile by the stream, in spite of all the force that can be put upon her. The banks of the river are pretty high, and covered to the edge by a thick growth of cotton wood and underbrush, so that it is impossible to land on either side but at the present places of embark and debarkation. After crossing with a load they are obliged to tow the boat up stream by hand, with a great deal of labor, crawling along the bank over roots,

wading or swimming for the distance of a mile, to make sure of the point on this side. There are about fifty Indians standing about, watching for every opportunity to plunder. They have heretofore carried the packs of emigrants over upon small rafts, made by lashing together several bundles of reeds; in this way they supplied themselves with clothing, blankets, tobacco, etc. This interference with their business has somewhat enraged them, and they have already given the emigrants a great deal of trouble, stealing their animals and robbing them of their baggage, provisions, money, etc., and in some instances attacking and killing several. They are the most expert swimmers I have seen and remarkably strong in the water. They frequently carry a bundle of clothes upon their heads—to keep it dry—with the lariats of three mules in their hands, which they manage with most surprising dexterity in the swift stream. Their usual plan of stealing is while crossing with the baggage on their rafts or swimming over with animals, when they reach the middle of the stream they turn down, and the current in a few minutes carries them far beyond the reach of the loser, when they land and hide their plunder in the thicket, until the emigrants have left the river. Property to the amount of thousands of dollars have been taken from the emigrants in this way. In endeavoring to get into the bank of the river about a mile below this crossing, in an almost impenetrable thicket, I accidentally discovered one of their pens for hiding animals, etc., but it was empty. The Yumas are a fine looking tribe, with well formed bodies and regular and rather handsome features. They have a great deal of money amongst them, and I saw as high as $30 in gold coin paid for a single blanket. They wear no clothing but the breech cloth except the few articles of dress they have procured of travelers, in which they attire themselves rather awkwardly. What would one of our eastern ladies think if waited upon by one of these "lords of creation," with but a shirt and a coat to cover his nakedness, yet looking as dignified and vain as an enlightened gentleman who has nothing but a good suit of broadcloth to recommend him to their notice! A foreign dress has a surprising effect upon the character of the Indian, at once arousing his vanity and self-esteem. After seeing "how things were to be done" at the crossing, and engaging the "boat," we returned to camp. About 10 o'clock we packed up and started down. The boat was still in use and we could do nothing but cross our mules. We hired some Indians to swim over with them, one, two and three

at a time, for which we gave them blankets, tobacco, etc. We were cautious, however, to first station a man on each side of the river with our best shooting rifles, some distance below the ferry, to kill the redskins should they make an attempt to steal the animals. Part of our company crossed over to receive the mules, while the rest of us remained to start them in and watch our baggage. A small mule belonging to Franklin became entangled in the lariat and was drowned. The Indian brought it on shore and in a short time every part of it was carried away. The first butcher cut out the entrails and lugged them off, as the most delicate part, and the last took the head of the ill-fated animal upon his shoulders and trudged away, well satisfied with his share. Although we came very near losing three fine mules, this was the only actual bad luck that happened to our company. When night set we had all the animals safely over, but our baggage yet remained behind; we were obliged to divide camp and keep a guard on each side.

Saturday, Aug. 11.—The moon arose about 2 o'clock, when we commenced crossing our baggage, and by 12M, we had all our "traps" safely landed on the western bank of the Colorado, after ten hours of the most fatiguing labor. We immediately packed up and went out a short distance from the river, where we found a pond of water, an abundance of beans and some grass.

Sunday, Aug. 12.—Visited by the Indians. They had nothing to trade except jerked mule meat, which we purchased, glad to get it. The few squaws we saw were remarkably tall, and heavy in proportion. They might well be classed with the race of giants. At this point we expect to leave all water and strike out upon our journey across the desert. Accordingly, we filled all our water vessels—gourd, canteens, haversacks, etc. My air pillow, which had done good service in the purpose for which it was made, and was used as a life preserver in swimming the Colorado, now served as a canteen in which we packed four or five gallons of water, and altogether, we must have had about 20 gallons. We also packed a lot of mezquite beans. Everything being in readiness, we started about 4 p. m. We traveled west, across the river flat, until we reached the high ground; then south, crossing a number of high rough ridges, putting it towards the river. The country began to change in appearance, and we soon found ourselves "up to our eyes" in sand; the surface rolling and perfectly bare of vegetation except a small species

of brush, which found its way up through the sand, appearing to defy sterility. The drifting sand had closed up the trail in many places. Night closed in upon us and after many fruitless attempts to follow it, we concluded to stop, which we did about 10 o'clock, tying our animals up to the bushes before mentioned. We lay down to rest and sleep, but in vain—the hot atmosphere and heated sand bed prevented anything of the kind. The animals sank to their knees in the sand.

---

## Chapter XVI

Monday, Aug. 13.—The early dawn of morning was the sign to be "up and doing," for no more time was to be lost, after launching out upon the desert. We were bivouaced upon a ridge of sand, and a continuation of sand hills stretch out to the W. and N. W., bounding the horizon in that direction. On the east is the river flat; the stream is not in sight, but the bottom is covered with mezquite timber, and this can be seen off to the south as far as the vision reaches. After packing up we descended to the flat, where we found some small pools of water. We watered our stock and replenished our canteens. We were no little surprised to find a cornfield here, and shortly afterwards saw the Indians coming out of their huts with baskets, to gather their day's supply of corn, melons, etc.; they said they belonged to the Marapopa [Maricopa] tribe. Judging from the barren appearance of the soil I could not have believed that it would produce, especially at such a distance from the river. Here we found a trail running along at the foot of the sand hills, which we followed, not knowing whether we were in the right or wrong road. About 9 o'clock we found some beans, and stopped an hour to rest and feed our animals. About 12 o'clock M. we came to the well, where we unpacked, watered our animals, and prepared breakfast, or rather, breakfast, dinner and supper in one meal, for we have eaten nothing since we left the Colorado. A little coarse bread, weak coffee and an allowance of mule beef is highly relished. There is as much water in the well as we can use, but it is scarcely fit to drink, (or would be considered so were we in a more enviable position.) Started at 1 o'clock and again stopped at 2 p. m. to feed upon beans, which we found in great abundance. The road to-day has been good, rather solid, which makes traveling comparatively easy. When we again started we left the wagon road to the right and

followed a trail. At 3 o'clock we found another well containing a small quantity of brackish water, and a dead mule; which probably had been left behind, and fallen in in its attempt to get to the water. We drank as much as we wanted and again pursued our journey. Our general course is now nearly due west. Night set in upon us, but we did not stop until 10 o'clock p. m., when the darkness prevented our following the trail. We tied our animals up to the small bushes and laid down to rest. I had become drowsy from loss of sleep and fatigue, [so] that I frequently slept on mule back, and waked up when about to fall off. I could not shake off the feeling, which was truly wretched, although I made every effort to do so.

Tuesday, Aug. 14.—The moon arose about 2 o'clock, when we packed up and started, driving at the rate of 4 to 5 miles per hour. Our canteens now contain our entire stock of water. The sand is pretty heavy in places, and in other parts the road is very solid, the earth being of a gravelly nature, and destitute of vegetation throughout. About 7 o'clock this morning we reached the third well. It is situated in a large, deep ravine, but the supply of water was so scanty that we could get but a quart apiece for our animals, and none for ourselves. This place is a perfect Golgotha—the bones of thousands of animals lie strewed about in every direction; and a great number of carcasses of horses and mules that have died lately, pollute the atmosphere. Deserted wagons, harness, saddles, etc., add to this destructive and sickening scene. After draining the well to the last drop, we concluded it would be better to go ahead than to wait for it to fill up again. It was with great difficulty that we restrained our suffering animals from rushing into the pit headlong. By their incessant nickering and unwillingness to leave the place, it seemed as though the little we gave them increased their thirst. We drove along at a fast rate until 9 o'clock a. m. Our stock of water is almost out, and we have eaten nothing since yesterday. We do not know how far we are from water, but have concluded to "take a piece" at all hazards. This emptied some of our canteens entirely, and there is not now more than three pints of water in the company. The heat has been almost insupportable, but a slight breeze has just sprung up. Repacked and traveled at a rapid pace. By 11 o'clock our water was entirely gone, and some of us were suffering from thirst, uncertain when we should reach water. It operated so powerfully upon Maj. Green that he became almost frantic,

and what the consequences would have been had we not reached water shortly afterward, God only knows. About one o'clock we saw a small trail leading off to the left of the road, towards what seemed to be some small trees and shrubbery; but we had so often been deceived by "mirage" during the day—frequently imagining we saw trees, water, etc., in the distance—that we scarcely knew what to do, whether to follow the trail in hopes of finding water, and lose the time if we failed, or, continue ahead as fast as possible. After a short deliberation we determined to pursue the former course. Our joy can scarcely be imagined when, after traveling a short distance, we came upon a pond or stream of water. Had it not been very warm the consequences might have been fatal to some of us, for we drank a large quantity of it. We now gave the mules as much as they could drink, but some of them had rushed into the pond and "helped themselves." We could not account for this large body of fresh water at this place, having never read or heard of its existence. (We have since learned that it was "New River," a stream that miraculously opened up in this desert waste during this summer).[80] But for this God-send, hundreds of emigrants must have perished, many of whom, like ourselves, were poorly supplied with suitable water vessels. As it was, we heard of several that were lost and died from thirst. That it did not exist before this season is attested by travelers and Indians, who have been acquainted with the route for many years. It could not have been passed by unnoticed, for in one place it runs across the main traveled road. I think that it is a branch of the Colorado, or rather, an arm of that river. The bed of the stream indicates that it existed before. The point at which it leaves the main stream might have been closed up by the washing of sand, or the shifting of the current, which is very common in these western waters, and again opened by an unusual rise in the river. This is but a supposition; the true source has not yet been discovered. We saw a number of ducks and other wild fowl, when we first reached the water. Up to this point we have traveled twenty-four hours since leaving the Colorado, and concluded to unpack, have something to eat, and rest until evening. Shortly after we encamped a company of Sonorians came up, on their way home from the gold mines of California. We could talk but little Mexican, but learned

80. Others seem to corroborate the strange emerging of this stream in the summer of 1849. See Foreman, *op. cit.*, 283, 330.

from them that there were a great many Americans in the mines; that mules were worth from $100 to $300, etc. They showed us a quantity of gold dust, and said it was very abundant out in the diggings. Since leaving home we had seen or heard nothing from our place of destination, and we had almost forgotten the principal object of our journey. We had thought that we were on the safe side of the jornada, but learned that we had yet a "long drive" before we reached Cariso creek.[81] After a long search we found some beans about two miles from camp, where we took our stock to feed. The day has been very hot and the mezquite affords but poor shade. Distance (since last noted), 75 miles; 1950 miles out from Fort Smith.

Wednesday, Aug. 15.—Left our place of encampment at dark last evening and drove along at a very rapid pace. Met great numbers of returning Senorians. Crossed a stream about ten yards wide—New River, (of which we were not aware at the time), and so deep that it swam some of our smaller mules. Some persons encamped on the bank said it was a running stream of fresh water, and that we had better stop. Having traveled only 4 or 5 miles, and our canteens being yet full, we concluded to go on. About 10 o'clock we crossed a lagoon of salt water. The darkness prevented us seeing, but we knew that the Salt Lake must be but a short distance on our right. Yesterday we were much deceived by "mirage;" that is, a large lake of water surrounded by trees and shrubbery, constantly appeared before us, receding as fast as we neared it. Our animals being greatly fatigued, we were obliged to stop at 2 o'clock a. m. and tie up to some bushes. I was very glad of it, for I had suffered all night from drowsiness, and a more disagreeable feeling can not be experienced. We lay down with empty stomachs. Our entire stock of provisions is now reduced to about 3 day's rations, and we have already felt the gnawings of hunger. I was too much fatigued and sore to sleep, during the two hours that we lay down. When the moon rose, about 4 o'clock in the morning, we packed up and started in a N. W. direction. About 9 o'clock a. m. we entered the mountains. Armstrong abandoned his riding horse this morning, and more of our stock show strong symptoms of "giving out." Our canteens are empty and we are obliged to push for water. After a hard struggle we

81. The distance from the last "well" to Cariso Creek seems to have been "about thirty miles." *Ibid.*, 284.

reached Cariso creek, but found no water. The sight of the dry bed of a stream would not allay our thirst, and we made all haste up it until we reached the head, where a small rivulet is formed by the water oozing out of the ground in several places, flowing a short distance, and then disappearing in the sand. In our eagerness to reach water, it was the best man, or rather, the best animal foremost. We were scattered all along the way, and the last of the company did not get up for two hours after the first. We reached this point at 11 a. m. The water, though clear as chrystal, has a peculiar and unpleasant taste. We ate a piece, but we could find nothing for our animals to feed upon. There are a large number of Senorians encamped here, resting their stock, before they undertake crossing the desert. They have several hundred head of fine horses, which they have no doubt stolen on the way, for it would seem poor policy to purchase animals in California to carry to Sonora, where they are said to be very cheap. They gave us glowing accounts of the gold diggings, and had large quantities of the dust in their possession.[82] This appears to be a general encamping place, but the stench arising from the number of dead animals strewed about is almost sickening. Packed up and

---

82. Very possibly these were some of the Sonorans who were heading for California when John C. Frémont came this way about six months before the Lewisburg party. It was from them that Frémont first learned that gold had been discovered in California. All Sonora was alive with excitement. "These Sonora Mexicans were on their way to the diggings. Frémont acted with characteristic impetuosity. Mariposa might be the best property after all. He leaped to the conclusion that gold would be found on his new lands, and promptly engaged twenty-eight Mexicans to work for him. He was to grubstake them, and they were to contribute their muscle and skill, and the gold was to be equally divided." After he reached California, Frémont established his home in Monterey, from where his holdings lay across the San Juaquin valley in the foothills to the east. "The Sonora miners had been sent to Mariposa without delay and were busy prospecting and extracting the gold from the river gravel . . . As soon as the news spread that Frémont's Sonoran helpers were washing out gold literally by the bucketful, a rush of other prospectors took place to the region. Shortly, two or three thousand were on the ground . . . But the Sonorans, as the first comers, had an advantage over others. They washed out the gold in such quantities that it was sent down to Frémont's home in Monterey, so Jessie tells us, in hundred-pound buckskin sacks, worth not far from $25,000 each . . . Unfortunately, the Sonorans did not get on well with the American newcomers. They left near Christmas for home; and as Frémont was too busy with politics at the moment to go to Monterey to divide the gold, he sent the miners the keys to his storeroom there. They made the division themselves, and took not a single ounce more than was their just share." Allan Nevins, *Frémont, the West's Greatest Adventurer*, ii, 422, 432, 434, 436-37. Such confidence manifested by each in the integrity of the other was certainly remarkable and noteworthy. As we shall see later, the Sonorans employed by Frémont were still working at the Mariposa diggings when the Lewisburg party arrived there.

left Cariso creek at 3 o'clock p. m. Traveled up a narrow valley in a N. W. direction. The mountains on either side have a barren aspect, and the only vegetation in the valley is the mezcal plant and a few stunted, prickly bushes. Seeing some palmetto trees on our right, we judged we should find water there, and we were not disappointed. There are several springs, but the water was very bad, beside being polluted by the dead horses and mules that lay in and about them. We were obliged to encamp for the night, and left our animals to browse upon the few bunches of bear grass that grew around. Satisfied that we are now across the much dreaded desert, we lay down early and enjoyed the most comfortable night's rest we have had in a long time. We also experienced a decided change in the atmosphere. Distance, 48 miles—1998.

Thursday, Aug. 16.—We felt the shock of an earthquake during the night, so sensibly that we were all awakened by it. At day-break we packed up and started, our mules all the while crying and nickering from the pangs of hunger. The poor, worn-out creatures are to be pitied, having had no food for nearly forty-eight hours. Continuing up the valley three leagues we reached a fine green spot of grass containing a few acres. The earth is spouty —an abundance of water, but not very good. Here we unpacked, and our animals set about satisfying their appetites with a great deal of avidity. We did not fare so well; could find no wood, except a few small green willows—but it mattered little for we had little to cook. After the loss of a great deal of time and breath, we succeeded in boiling a pot of coffee. There are two or three Indian families living here, who say they belong to the San Felippe tribe. We saw the ruins of Maj. Graham's camp, part of whose camp were obliged to go into winter quarters here, on their way to California in '47 and '48.[83] They had thrown up adobe and mud huts, some of which are remaining. His troops suffered a great deal from cold, want of provisions, etc. At 2 p. m. we started for San Felippe, where these Indians told us we could procure breadstuff, etc., and the distance was 4 leagues. We

83. The officer here mentioned must have been Major Lawrence P. Graham who, after the signing of the treaty (in February 1848), was ordered from Chihuahua to California with a contingent of the First U. S. Dragoons. The diary kept by Lieut. Cave Couts seems to be the only account extant of that march. Bancroft, *New Mexico and Arizona*, 479, tells us that, because of the drunkenness and incompetence of the commander, the troops suffered considerably. See also Foreman, *op. cit.*, 303, 327. The camp must have been occupied in the winter of 1848-49 instead of 1847-48 as Chamberlin has it.

ascended and descended several long, narrow valleys and ravines, and crossed two or three mountains. The sky had been overcast with clouds during the afternoon, and towards evening a slight rain commenced falling, which in the course of an hour saturated our clothes, and made us feel very uncomfortable. This is the first rain that has fallen upon us since leaving the vicinity of the Rio Grande. Hill Dixon[84] this afternoon abandoned his fine horse, which he had procured from the Apache Indians, the animal being totally unable to proceed. Night came upon us, but finding no water or grass we determined to go ahead. We have already traveled more than four leagues since leaving camp, but we had our information from the Indians, who knew but little about distance. It was very dark, but the trail being distinct, we succeeded in keeping it. About 8 o'clock we saw a dim fire ahead, and at 9 o'clock reached it. This proved to be San Felippe. The first thing we knew, our mules were into the unfenced corn patches, helping themselves, and the Indians hallowing and dogs barking, endeavoring to drive them out. Although the animals were very weary we expected a "stampede" every moment. The darkness was so intense that we could not see a single mule, nor each other. Where to go we knew not; but, after a great deal of trouble and vexation, groping about after our mules, etc., made an Indian to understand that we wanted him to guide us to grass and water, which he did. Here we unpacked, and turned our stock loose at the mercy of the Indians and the weather. We again lay down with empty stomachs in wet clothes; the air cold and still raining. Distance, 21 miles—2019.

---

## Chapter XVII

Friday, Aug. 17.—In the morning we found all our animals. The grass being good they had grazed around camp all night. The village of San Felippe consists of a few miserable looking huts, built of reeds.[85] The inhabitants cultivate a little corn, a few melons, etc.; altogether not more than one American, his wife, two children and

84. Dixon was one of the "Louisiana party" and is first mentioned in this diary on May 4, *supra*. Apparently he was a brother of James H. Dixon of the same party who on June 21 was elected to be captain until they reached the diggings. (*Supra*, entries of June 21, July 15.)

85. Foreman (*op. cit.*, 297) says: "At San Felipe all the travelers rejoiced at the first sight of green foliage after crossing the all but interminable desert and they tarried here to revel in the luxury of good water and food."

a pig could subsist upon. They also live upon mezquite beans, prickly pears, etc. We had hoped to procure some provisions, but they had none; we made them every kind of offer but in vain. During the day we saw them butcher a poor mule, which had been left behind by some travelers. They knocked it down, and then each fellow jumped upon it and cut out a piece to suit his taste, without skinning, dressing or anything else. Had it been jerked, or even decently dressed, we should have come in for a share; but as it was, we could not "stomach it." A heavy, cool rain this afternoon. In the evening we purchased a small quantity of coarse, sandy flour, brought to camp by the Indians, at $1.00 per quart; also some black, dirty molasses, made out of reeds, at 75c per pint. Some of the squaws visited us, wearing clean and pretty neatly made calico dresses, bare headed and bare footed. They are not beautiful by any means. We remained here to-day to procure provisions, but we will have to leave with sacks as empty as we came. We have not eaten a full, satisfactory meal since leaving the Pigmo Indian settlement, and have been on less than half rations most of the time. A large number of Sonorians passed to-day, on their way home.

Saturday, Aug. 18.—A very heavy dew fell last night, which wet our blankets. This is the first dew that has fallen upon us since leaving the borders of the States. Here we heard the echo from the report of a gun, for the first time in the same distance. Started early, without breakfast, and traveled through a long, narrow valley, covered for some distance with a luxuriant growth of grass and several clumps of cottonwood trees. There is some pine timber upon the mountains, and grass, giving the country a fresh and pleasing appearance to eyes so long accustomed to sterile mountains and barren wastes. The atmosphere is cool and comfortable. This entire change in nature has sensibly affected our spirits, and they brighten in proportion. Passed several Indian huts, at one of which we procured some peaches, but they were not ripe. During to-day's journey we saw the first California oak, which grows abundantly on the hills and in the ravines. We crossed a mountain of several hills and descended into another larger valley, in which is situated "Agua Caliente," which we soon reached, and encamped beneath the shade of a fine oak. This place, more familiarly known as "Warner's Ranch," consists of a few old adobe buildings and Indian huts, situated at one end of a broad, beautiful valley covered with a fine growth of green grass

and timber. Here we can see the road leading off S. W. to San Diego, and another west to Pueblo de los Angeles.[86] The inhabitants have some corn, mellons, etc., under cultivation, and several small vineyards, but the fruit is yet unripe. There are both hot and cold springs here. The water of the former is said to contain valuable medicinal properties. The inhabitants wash their clothes and bathe in it. The latter is excellent water, and the coldest I ever drank. This is certainly a beautiful and romantic spot. Vegetation is said to continue verdant the year around. This is caused by the altitude of the place, being visited by heavy dews and occasional showers. This is not common to any other part of California. Mr. Warner was driven from his ranch some time ago by the inhabitants, and has not yet regained possession. There is an American here living with the Indians, from whom we purchased some coarse flour at $2 per *alamo,* or about $12 per bushel.[87] The population is a crossed race of Indians, Californians and Mexicans. They speak the Spanish language, imitate the Mexicans in dress, and are very much addicted to gambling, which seems to be their only employment at present. This is a general stopping place for travelers, and there is now a large company of Sonorians engaged in jerking beef to last them home. There are no cattle, no meat of any kind, to be had at this place. This evening the Indians held their annual feast in honor of their god, whom they personify by worshipping the eagle. They kept up a hideous noise, singing, dancing, bellowing, howling, grunting, dog barking, guns firing, all night. Some of us slept but little. Distance, 18 miles; 2036 miles from Fort Smith.

Sunday, Aug. 19.—If we could have procured a supply of provisions we would have remained here several days to rest and recruit. Having the promise of some flour, we waited until noon for it, but being disappointed we packed up and started, at the same time loath to leave the place. Traveled in a western course, on the Los Angeles road, gradually ascending for some miles, over a good mountain road, and then descending until we found grass and water and a suitable place for encamping. Met sev-

---

86. It is interesting to find Los Angeles still being called a "Pueblo" as late as 1849. It had been founded in 1781 as a civilian town with the impressive name, "El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles."

87. Chamberlin's ear did not catch the Spanish word correctly. Instead of *álamo* (cottonwood) doubtless the word used was *almud,*—a dry measure equivalent to less than a peck.

eral squads of returning Mexicans, all of whom confirmed the report as to the abundance of gold, having proof in their possession. Distance, 10 miles—2047.

Monday, Aug. 20.—Had some difficulty in finding part of our mules this morning, they having gone some distance on the back track during the night. Our road through the mountains is good; a few wagons have passed over it. The hills are covered with underbrush, the ravines are well timbered and the small valleys have good grass. Towards evening we reached a fine, open valley and encamped near a California ranch, in a peach orchard. The fruit unripe. Had fine water, good grass and but little wood. Distance, 22 miles—2069.

Tuesday, Aug. 21.—Purchased a few alamos [*almudes*] of flour of the Indians by the way. Passed a cattle ranch, but could not buy a beef from the indolent creatures who had them in charge. A fine descending road through several small valleys, but finding no grass, (being now in the stock range), we did not stop until we unpacked for the night, on the margin of a beautiful lake some 12 miles in circumference, covered with wild fowls, and a vast herd of fine cattle grazing on the shore. We stopped early and being very hungry, (having eaten no meat for a great while), we looked with longing eyes upon the fat yearlings running about within rifle shot. Some of us went to the ranch to purchase, but found it deserted. Returned to camp, decided to kill a beef, and soon put the matter into execution. Ten minutes after the knife passed its throat we had fresh meat cooking in the pans, on spits, on the coals, and every other way we could cook it. Panful after panful was fried; piece after piece roasted, until we had completely gorged ourselves, actually not knowing when to be satisfied. It was a "glorious" supper. Long after dark found us around the fire, with spit in hand, roasting "the last piece" again and again, before lying down for the night. By this time nearly half the yearling had disappeared—a pretty good lunch for eleven weak bodied men. This will scarcely be believed by persons that have never experienced our "fix." While in the midst of our bounteous repast the man in charge of the ranch, with several peons, came dashing up to the camp on horseback, attracted by the buzzards flying around the blood and offals of the slaughtered animal. We expected "gos," [*sic*] but after explaining to him the necessity of the case, he was very well satisfied, and charged us but $4, which we considered moderate. We "turned in" with satisfied appetites, for the

first time in a long while, but found that we did not rest much better than when upon an allowance of weak diet. Distance, 25 miles—2094.

Wednesday, Aug. 22.—Packed the balance of our beef along. Nooned at a California ranch, where we obtained green corn, melons, etc. The general appearance of the country as usual. Found a small patch of grass and a running stream, where we encamped. Distance, 15 miles—2109.

Thursday, Aug. 23.—Started at daylight and traveled over a rolling country for several miles, when we crossed a beautiful valley, down the centre of which flows a small river of pure, cold water. Thousands of fine cattle were feeding upon the flat. We stopped to noon at 8 o'clock, after crossing the river. There is a ranch on the bank, but we could buy no provisions there; they told us that we could get all we wanted at the American ranch, a few leagues ahead. We had been directed to "los rancho Americano" several times before. At 1 o'clock we repacked and at 3 encamped at Mr. Williams' ranch.[88] This gentlemen was formerly from Wilkesbarre, Luzerne, county, Pa. From what I could learn he left Pennsylvania about the year of 1820, and came out to the Rocky mountains, where he followed hunting and trapping for a number of years. A few years ago he settled upon his present location, which is said to be the finest ranch in California; that he was then worth nothing but the clothes upon his body, but now owns eleven square leagues of land, 35,000 head of cattle, 1500 horses and mules, and a great many sheep. There is a flat of very rich land several miles in extent, well watered, which he proposes laying out into a town and farms, to be settled by Americans. Mr. Williams is apparently very much of a gentleman, freely selling what his ranch affords to emigrants at moderate prices, and giving gratuitously to those in needy circumstances. It is said that during the war he furnished the American army and navy with horses and cattle, for which he holds a bill against the United States government to the amount of $250,000; also that Col. Fremont made an offer of $200,000 for the ranch. Whether it was accepted, or why

---

88. This was probably Isaac Williams. H. H. Bancroft does not mention him, but John W. Caughey, *California*, 238. in his chapter on "Mountain Men," tells us: "No pretense has been made of calling the entire roll of the mountain men who penetrated to California . . . The fur trapping of many . . . is so overshadowed by their later activities that they are seldom thought of as trappers. J. J. Warner and Isaac Williams, for example, are better known as California ranchers."

the sale was not made, I have never understood. Nearly all the emigrants by the southern route pass this ranch, and more or less have dealings with Mr. Williams. Contrary opinions have been formed as regards his character, generosity, etc.; some say that he has kept a strict account of all that he has given the needy emigrants, with the intention of presenting it to the U. S. government, etc., etc. Mr. Lane from Paris, Mexico, arrived here in advance of us, on his way to the mines.[89] He started from home with nine wagons and upwards of fifty mules. He was obliged to abandon all but one wagon and a barouche, which he sold to Mr. Williams, and has but fifteen mules left. He is an American who has resided in Mexico for a number of years, and a very clever man, but I fear he has lost more on the way than he will make in California. Here I saw a new method of "doctoring" sore backed mules, animals for which Mr. Williams had exchanged with travelers, being almost ruined by the chafing of pack saddles. The "caballada" was driven into the corral and the patients, one after another, lassoed, thrown down and firmly tied. Several young Indians then went to work, gouging the dirt and corruption out of the sores with their fingers, then they fill up the cavity with fresh slacked lime, and let the animals run; and in a short time, it is said, the sore will be healed up. It is a most cruel operation. I saw as much as a quart of maggots clawed out of a single sore. The hills in this vicinity are covered with the burrs of the wild clover, the stock of which has disappeared. Poor stock will fatten upon these burrs in two months. There is also an abundance of wild oats on the hills, which is excellent feed. The almost incredible number of cattle that range these hills and valleys, their size and condition, prove that this portion of California at least, is one of the finest grazing countries in the world. The horses are not so large as American. They are never accustomed to any other feed than the range, which accounts, in part, for their ability to perform long and fast journeys. An American horse does not "come out" or show well until broken or trained. The Californian is the reverse; when tamed his spirit is broken and his beauty gone. The Californians are cruel horsemen. The high mountains on the north of the valley, and the south end of the Sierra Nevada range, have a white appearance, which is said to be natural lime of good quality. The cli-

---

89. No other mention of this Lane has been found.

mate here is delightful, the day being warmest from 7 until 10 o'clock in the morning, after which the ocean breeze cools the atmosphere, making the remainder of the day pleasant. Distance, 20 miles—2129.

Friday, Aug. 24.—We continued our course this morning, and stopped near Mr. Reed's ranch. Hill Dixon and myself visited him. Mr. Reed came out from the state of Missouri in the year 1844.[90] He now owns a well stocked ranch, a large vineyard, and has a comfortable house to live in. He is a young man, has a California wife, and during the war her brother tried hard to take his [Reed's] life. He gave us a great deal of information in regard to the country and the mines, whither he had lately been. We sat down (had almost forgotten how) to dinner with him, gotten up in regular California style—tortillas, frijoles, and a sort of hash made of jerked beef, onions, red peppers, etc. We cleared the table, although abundantly spread, and thanked our host, for he would receive no pay. We returned to camp, pack up, went about two miles on the back track and encamped on a small stream, near a rude Mexican mill and several California and Indian ranches. We turned our animals into a large wheat field, off which the grain had been very imperfectly gathered. This was the object of our return, and they appear to fare so well that we have determined to remain several days, for the purpose of recruiting them and ourselves. Here we can procure beef, flour, bread, tomatoes, onions, melons, etc.; but at pretty extravagant prices, excepting beef. Distance, 12 miles—2141.

Saturday, Aug. 25.—This morning we purchased a beef, butchered, and busied ourselves in curing it. We are once more in a land of plenty, comparatively, which makes us feel right comfortable. Washing our clothes and visiting the neighboring ranches to buy vegetables, learn Spanish, etc. This afternoon an eclipse of the sun took place. Having no almanac, it came upon us rather unexpectedly. Lots of melons and tomatoes in camp to-day. We enjoy the feast, expecting a famine to follow.

---

90. Not identified, unless possibly it was "Hugo Reid" who, in 1852, wrote contributions to the *Los Angeles Star* which later (1926) were reprinted with the title "*The Indians of Los Angeles County.* (Caughey, *op. cit.*, 611.) Wm. H. Ellison (ed.), *The life and adventures of George Nidever (1802-83)*, 116, tells us that in 1846 William Workman "and Hugo Perfecto Reid purchased for debt the mission of San Gabriel."

## CHAPTER XVIII

Sunday, Aug. 23—This day forms almost a blank in my memorandum of events. We enjoy it as a day of perfect rest, for which it was designed, but by us so long misused, through necessity or indifference. We have nothing to care for but our stock, which are doing finely upon the wheat. The valley is covered with a thick growth of black mustard, now ripe, and of good quality.

Monday, Aug. 27.—During the night we were annoyed by several skunks prowling through and about our camp, over our beds, etc., no doubt attracted by the fresh meat. They were unwelcome visitors, but we were obliged to show them all due courtesy—"lay low and keep cool," was the word, "or you will smell thunder, if you don't hear it." To-day the Virginia and Texas mess overhauled us. Dr. Winston and Capt. Fitzhugh have gone to San Diego, thence to San Francisco by water; Capt. Dixon, Green and Howard on a visit to Mr. Reed's and Rohland's.[91] Day warmer than usual, but pleasant compared with what we have already passed through. Schaffle sold his gun to a Sonorian for three ounces of gold dust. The mill here is a curiosity. The stones are about two feet in diameter, and fed by a raw-hide hopper, which "chops" the grain at the rate of two bushels in twenty-four hours. The water works consist of a rough wheel, the power of which operates directly upon the stones, without extra gearing. It is attended by a woman, and two more are engaged in washing the grain and spreading it out on blankets to dry.

Tuesday, Aug. 28.—To-day was spent in perfect idleness, lounging about camp, sleeping, etc., and as the mind generally sympathizes with the body, I have nothing to note.

Wednesday, Aug. 29.—Packed up and started this morning. Our mules show the effect of good feeding, being very much improved in spirit, if not in body. Stopped at

---

91. Without doubt, this was John Rowland who, with William Workman, had headed a party of American migrants from New Mexico to California in 1841; they thought it prudent to "move on" because of the state of alarm aroused by the expected invasions from Texas. Caughey, *op. cit.*, 254, tells us: "They left Abiquiú in September, followed the usual trade route, the Old Spanish Trail, across the Colorado, through southern Utah and Nevada, and over the Mojave Desert and Cajón Pass to Los Angeles, where they arrived some two months later. The party drove along a flock of sheep for food and traveled much of the distance in company with the annual band of traders from New Mexico." Next year (1842) Rowland "went back to New Mexico to fetch his family." Ellison, *op. cit.*, 116, states that "Workman and Rowland secured the La Puente rancho, the title to which was confirmed by the Mexican authorities in 1845."

Mr. Rohland's and purchased flour (sifted) at $8.00 per 100 pounds. Mr. Rohland was formerly from Harmany, in the neighborhood of Pittsburg, Pa. He is of German descent and would be known amongst a thousand as "one of the Pennsylvania Dutch." He has been in the country a number of years, intermarried with Spaniards, and now enjoys peace and plenty. He owns a large ranch, well stocked, good buildings, a mill, and a beautiful garden and vineyard. We had the privilege of helping ourselves to the delicious fruit, which is certainly of the finest quality I have ever seen. There was an emigrant here, depending upon the charity of Mr. Rohland, who was so reduced by the "chill fever" that he could scarcely walk, and had no medicine to check it. I gave him some quinine, with directions to take it, for which he was very grateful. The country is of a rolling nature, pretty well watered. We crossed several streams, past two or three ranches, and reached Pueblo de los Angeles about 2 o'clock p. m. We inquired for accommodations for "man and beast," but they could not furnish the former. We concluded it best to go together, and accordingly encamped outside of town, on the bank of a stream of pure, cold water. Distance, 20 miles—2161.

Thursday, Aug. 30.—Concluded to remain here to-day, for the purpose of supplying ourselves with provisions for the remainder of the journey. A heavy dew fell during the night, and this morning we are enveloped in a dense fog. There are a number of American emigrants encamped here. Los Angeles is handsomely situated in the midst of a fertile, well watered country, surrounded on all sides by hills. There is no timber in the immediate neighborhood, except the small willows that grow upon the bank of the stream, on the south side of town, which is about 25 miles distant from the ocean. The buildings, with one or two exceptions, are one story adobes; many of them being plastered and white-washed, give the place a tolerably genteel appearance. Before the gold mines were discovered this was the largest town in California.[92] Nine-tenths of the inhabitants are Spaniards, but a number of Americans are about settling in the place. Several American merchants that have been established here for some years, have realized handsome fortunes. Money is very abundant, and I saw a great deal of gold dust exchanged for merchandise. We purchased Chili flour at $12 per hundred pounds, equal, or if any difference, superior to American; coffee,

92. The population had grown from c.1,000 in 1830 to c.1,800 in 1840; in 1850 it had dropped to 1,610.

25c per pound; sugar, 37½c; tobacco, $2, and saleratus $8 per pound; tin cups, $1.50 apiece; frying pans, $5, etc. Saw sewing silk sold for its weight in gold. Liquor sold for two bits a drink; salt, $1 per pound; common knives and forks, $10 per dozen, etc. Doubloons circulate more freely than sixpences do in Pennsylvania. There are several pure Castilian families in the place, who are of a fairer cast than Americans. The soil is very productive in the vicinity. Wheat produces from 40 to 75 bushels to the acre. It is sown in January and ripens before the drought can injure it. The hills are covered with wild oats, and the valleys with clover, mustard, etc. About the first of December, or after the first rain falls, vegetation starts, and the country assumes a universal coat of verdure, which lasts until July of next year. All kinds of fruit and vegetables flourish; apples, pears, peaches, oranges, figs, apricots, grapes, melons, etc., etc., are abundant in season.

Friday, Aug. 31.—Started this morning; passed over a rolling country for some distance; our course due north. Enjoyed the cool sea breeze, which increased almost to a gale. We are within a few miles of the ocean. Crossed a mountain and again turned our faces northward, up a large valley, in which a countless number of cattle were grazing, apparently without an owner—not a house or man in sight. Saw some timber, live-oak, sycamore, walnut, etc. Encamped in a vineyard and turned our mules into a wheat field, near an Indian ranch, with the permission of the owner. If we were not "in clover," wheat for our animals and grapes for ourselves were equally as good. We paid the Indians for the fruit we used, of course. Had a fine grape pie for supper. Distance, 20 miles—2181.

Saturday, Sept. 1.—While at Los Angeles, I weighed 157 pounds, a gain of 7 pounds since leaving home. Maj. Green weighted 160 pounds, a loss of 58 pounds in the same time. So much for "high living." We were advised by some Americans at Los Angeles, to take but 12 or 15 days' provisions, cross the mountains into the valley of the San Joaquin, and proceed directly to the nearest mines, as a much shorter route, and the Maraposa being reported the best diggings in the country.[93] This morning we found that we were upon the coast road, which is not our route. A Spaniard gave us direction, which we followed. The trail led over a level plain, covered with a dense growth of clover, and we soon reached the mission of San Fernando.

---

93. See note 82, *supra*.

This place is almost deserted. A few Indians inhabit the dilapidated buildings, which were built by the Catholic church for their use and comfort. These California missions were once in a flourishing condition. Thousands of wild Indians were gathered around them, instructed in the "Holy faith" and taught to cultivate the earth. Each mission had its vineyards and fruit garden, a large tract of land under cultivation, and countless numbers of cattle, horses, sheep, etc. Good order, peace and plenty once reigned over these beautiful spots. The "Padre" had entire control of the concern and was reverenced as "prime ruler" by his devoted subjects. But all things have changed. The priests have left, nunneries are deserted, the Indians are scattered, and many of them have fled to their wild haunts in the mountains, and the buildings are fast going to ruin. By what I can learn, these changes have been brought about by revolutions in the country, altering the government of the missions, restricting the power of the Padres, etc., and finally, the country falling into the hands of the Americans, and the discovery of the gold mines, have made complete wreck of these once popular institutions. Although I am far from being a believer in the reign of the Roman Catholics, or rather their doctrines, I can not look upon those missions, and hear the story of their rise and progress and downfall, without feelings of regret, that they have not been sustained. The principal building in the mission of San Fernando, containing the church, convent, Padre's rooms, &c., is a noble edifice, although the architecture is very rude. It is two stories high, built of adobes, plastered and white-washed. The roof is covered with fluted tile. The windows are crossed with iron bars, Its arches, pillars, belfry, statues, fountains, paintings, &c., give it an imposing appearance, and it must be acknowledged a well constructed edifice, for this country, where building material is so scarce. There are several Spaniards in charge of the building, yards, cornfield, &c. We purchased some pears and melons. There were a number of Indians keeping watch over the cornfield, each one perched upon a small scafford, above the tops of the corn. Shortly after leaving the mission we entered the mountains, following a small trail up the ravine, to the head, where an apparently impassable mountain seemed to obstruct our further progress. There was no alternative, we must either scale it or take the back track. It was not more than 500 yards high, but very steep, and the trail scarcely visible. After one of the hardest struggles I have witnessed on the

route, our mules reached the summit with their loads. The descent was almost as difficult. Shortly afterwards we encamped in a ravine, beneath the shade of some large sycamore trees; good grass, but little water. Saw a "grizzly" upon the mountains, but he was not within rifle shot and we could not get at him. Distance, 20 miles—2201.

Sunday, Sept. 2.—Very cold last night. We now feel the need of the blankets we were obliged to throw away; we have but one apiece left. Shortly after starting we entered a small valley. A great many cattle in it, and we were led astray by their numerous trails. This detained us an hour or two, but finding the cassa, (Spanish name for house or home), we were righted on our course. Here we entered the mountain again, and crossed a very high range, so steep that we had almost "to lay down upon our backs to see the top of it." The trail was beset by rocks, stones and bushes, and our travel this afternoon has been a continual ascent and descent. "Old Sol" poured down his rays upon us without mercy. Altogether it reminds me of the days of toil and fatigue we experienced upon the Rio Gila. We did not reach water until dark, which we found in the bed of a deep, dark chasm in the mountains. Here we encamped and turned our mules loose to browse amongst the rocks. Saw another "grizzly" to-day and several deer. Distance, 20 miles—2221.

Monday, Sept. 3.—Continued amongst the mountains in a N. E. course and had a hard day's travel of it. The trail is so indistinct in places that we could scarcely follow it. The fact is, few but Indians have ever passed over this road, and it is utterly impossible for wagons to travel it. Saw a small valley on our right hand, at the distance of a mile, the entire surface of which was as white as snow. We suppose it to be a deposit of salt, likely the dry bed of a salt lake. Met with a number of bear and deer to-day, but they were all at a distance from us, and we could not lose time to run after them. We encamped in a beautiful oak grove on the edge of a small valley, well grassed. A spring of good water near camp. One of the company shot a large catamount a few rods from camp. Distance, 20 miles—2241.

Tuesday, Sept. 4.—Hill Dixon and myself start in advance of the company this morning, for the purpose of killing game. We saw nothing but three deer very high up in the mountain. The valley in which we encamped gradually narrowed into a ravine, down which ran a stream of clear, cold water. After descending this ravine for

several miles we emerged upon the broad valley of the Rio San Joaquin, at the extreme south end. Here a solitary Indian family lives. They cultivate a few vegetables. It would be difficult to describe the desolate, barren appearance of the plains before us. We could discern the mountains that bounded the valley on the west. Not a tree, shrub, spear of grass, or drop of water was visible. If ever vegetation existed here it has entirely disappeared. The day was exceedingly hot, atmosphere hazy, and in the distance the air and horizon appeared to blend into one. We were almost afraid to "launch out" upon this wide waste. It seemed to us more forbidding than the desert of the Colorado. We had been instructed to keep down the valley on the west side of the Tule lakes, which we followed, but since have abundant cause to regret. The trail leads down the east side, and is the route usually traveled. We started in a N. W. direction, traveling over a level plain for about 10 miles, when we reached the head of the first lake, after stopping once on the way to rest. Saw a few antelopes, but could not get within shooting distance of them. Here we found several sickly Indian families encamped, living upon fish and muscles. The border of the lake is thickly beset with tule (bullrushes), making it difficult to get to water. It is literally covered with wild fowl. There is a small Indian trail down the west side of the lakes, but there are so many made by wild animals that we find it impossible to keep the right one. These Indians are anxious to have us go across the slue and travel on the east side. We could not understand the reason, and did not heed their warning and advice. We traveled until dark, finding no water or grass, and not being able to get to water, we stopped for the night and turned our mules loose to browse upon the tule, for there was neither grass nor bushes. But they were immediately attacked by myriads of mosquitoes, which did not make their appearance until sundown. To prevent their running away we were obliged to stand and hold them. We procured a little water to drink by cutting our way through tule and mosquitoes. No wood to cook, and have eaten nothing since early morning. We are again out of meat. We lay down, but to sleep was out of the question. The mosquitoes attacked us in perfect swarms, apparently intent upon having our very "life's blood." As much as ourselves and animals needed sleep and rest, we though it best to pack up and travel, which we did at 8 o'clock p. m. Being very dark we did not pretend to follow the trail. The mules were hard to

drive, being very hungry, and still annoyed by mosquitoes. At 1 o'clock a. m. it became pretty cool, the mosquitoes left us, and we lay down to rest. Distance, 38 miles—2279.

---

## CHAPTER XIX

Wednesday, Sept. 5.—We had two or three hours comfortable sleep; but the poor mules, having nothing to eat, were noisy and restless. At daylight we packed up and traveled two miles, when we found a little salt grass and an opening to the water. Here we unpacked. We gathered up some dry weeds and managed to cook some bread and coffee. This is the first we have eaten for 30 hours. Left this point at 1 o'clock p. m., following a well beaten trail, which led us in a N. W. direction, leaving the lake in the N. E., and a mountain between us and the lake. After traveling about 15 miles we became satisfied that we were upon a wild horse trail, and bearing too much towards the mountains to the west. The range between us and the water still continued, and increased in size. Persons who have not witnessed it can scarcely form an idea of the sterile appearance of the country we passed over to-day. We have not seen a tree or living shrub since entering the valley. We are at a loss for a time what course to pursue. Our animals were beginning to fail; we had no water in our canteens, and knew that we could not again reach the lake before night. At last we concluded that our only course was to strike N. E. across the mountains, and reach water as soon as possible. Having no trail, we found traveling very difficult. The earth is dried up to a perfect dust, and every few steps the mules sink to the knees, in places where gophers, coatis (coyotes), and other animals have burrowed beneath the surface. When we reached the dividing ridge we were lucky in making the head of a ravine, down which we traveled in a winding course. We knew we were going towards the water from the numerous small wild animal trails that led in the same direction. Night came upon us, we lay down in the ravine without water, food or grass. Distance, 25 miles—2304.

Thursday, Sept. 6.—Reached the lake at eight o'clock this morning; unpacked, watered and grazed our animals and ate a piece. The atmosphere so hazy that we can see but a mile or two. We have concluded that the mountain which we went so far out of our course to avoid, is the dividing point between the first and second lake. Col. Fre-

mont and other travelers who have never seen them represent the Tule as one continued lake, about 70 miles in length. Instead of this, it consists of three, in the form of a crescent. Col. F. also said that this part of the valley, lying west of the lake and San Joaquin river, is an almost perfect desert, which thus far has proven true. We again started at 1 o'clock p. m., our course N. along the shore. The earth is very soft, resembling dry ashes or quicklime, into which the mules sink almost to their knees at every step. Encamped at dark and turned our mules into the tule, which their hunger forced them to eat with avidity; but they were soon attacked by millions of mosquitoes, and it was with difficulty we prevented their stampeding. Never did poor mortals suffer more than we from the attacks of those insects—fight the mosquitoes, and hold our animals by the head, was all we could do, having nothing we could tie them to. Not one of us slept a wink during the night. Distance, 20 miles—2324.

Friday, Sept. 7.—Finding it impossible for either man or beast to rest, we packed up and started long before daylight. Drove several hours, when we came to the end of the lake, and were obliged to strike N. E. to a slue for water. Here we nooned and returned to the trail, upon which we continued in a N. W. direction until night, and again turned N. E. several miles for water, over a flat cut up by slues. Not finding any, we encamped without water. We had been instructed to cross Lake Fork, a river pulling in at the south end of the lakes. After deliberating upon the subject, we concluded that we were past all the lakes and that it would be necessary to return to the foot of the lake to cross the fork. Distance, 20 miles—2344.

Saturday, Sept. 8.—Annoyed during the night by a band of wild horses running around camp, trying to entice our mules off. We have already seen a lot of them. They are certainly the wildest animals I ever saw. Returned to our trail about 22 miles, which proved a very unwise move, being unable to cross a slue. Here we nooned. Again moved up over our old trail and encamped where we nooned yesterday, losing a day and a half, and hard marching at that. Distance, 20 miles—2364.

Sunday, Sept. 9.—Still thinking that we had passed all the lakes and that the rise in them had filled this slue with water, we determined to continue along until we should head it, and then strike a due north course to the San Joaquin river. We soon rounded the slue, and thinking difficulties and perplexities at an end, we bore north over

a perfectly barren plain for about 10 miles. Saw several large herds of antelope. We were deceived by the singular phenomena—mirage. We thought we plainly saw the course of the much desired river, even the trees on the banks. Our surprise and disappointment cannot be imagined, when, ascending a gentle rise another Tule lake lay before us, directly across our course, extending east and west as far as the vision can reach. Here was an end to our brightened prospects; for we had already imagined ourselves encamped on the bank of the river, with plenty of wood, good water, fresh fish, and but two or three days' journey from our destination. Our situation is enough to alarm us. Many of our animals are apparently upon their "last legs." We have not full two days' rations or provisions left. Some days ago we began to fear that we would not reach the mines in the expected time, and confined ourselves to half rations, which we again reduced to quarter rations, and upon this fare we subsisted for several days—nothing but bread and coffee at that. This amount of food will not sustain us, and do our necessary work. The jaded condition of our mules obliges us to walk a great portion of the time. For the same reason we packed but 12 days' provisions from Los Angeles, which we were told would be an abundance; and no meat expecting to kill game. But this is a poor dependence. We cannot hunt without stopping, and this would be a loss of time, and but few of us have guns left. Starvation or mule flesh stares us in the face, but we will no doubt prefer the latter. To kill and eat one of our faithful animals, that has brought us thus far, seems rather revolting, but we look upon it as a thing certain, and have already selected the first victim. This lake like the former one, is bordered with tule, and is literally covered with wild fowl of every variety, amongst others the pelican, swan, goose, brunt, ducks, herons, curlews, plovers, snipe, etc. They are so abundant that there is an immense deposit of guano along the shore in law water. The water we have to use is the essence of this deposit, and is really disgusting, although we had become accustomed to bad water. I had the good fortune to shoot a pelican, which we sat about devouring upon the spot. We skinned the bird, cut it in pieces, made a fire of dry tule, and each person taking a portion, roasted it to suit himself. We wallowed it about in the smoke and dirt, the rushes not making heat enough to cook it. Alas! after all our trouble the "bird" was too strong for our weak stomachs; however, it fully sufficed for dinner, without eating it. Those who

happened to swallow a bite were sickened. I never wish to dine on pelican again. The name of the infernal bag-throttled creature is enough for me. We decided to travel west along the lake. Wild fowls cover the water in many places for fifty acres in extent, and their incessant screaming would terrify an army, almost. Towards evening we encamped, without food or grass, as usual, and after partaking of a "cup of guano tea," we lay down to meditate upon our troubles and misfortunes. But nothing (except mosquitoes) can long keep sleep away from the eyes of the wayworn traveler. Distance, 20 miles—2384.

Monday, Sept. 10.—Started before daylight, without breakfast, following the course of the lake, which led us in a due west direction. Several of us waded out into the lake in search of muscles, the empty shells of which we saw upon the shore. Found none, which was another disappointment. Killed a duck or two and ate them, which only served to arouse our appetites. Armstrong shot at a wild colt, and wounded him, but he got off, the blood running from him at every step. If he could have succeeded in killing him we would have had a fine supply of fresh meat. During our march this afternoon I attempted to walk along the shore of the lake and shoot some ducks, but was so weak that I could do nothing, and was glad to get on the back of my mule again. Toward evening we discovered a gang of elk, drinking at the edge of the lake. They all ran off toward the mountains on seeing us except one buck, which remained in the water for some time. Hill Dixon, having a good rifle, and being acquainted with the habits of the animals, placed himself in ambush near the trail of the others, and as he came along he fired and mortally wounded him. He ran about two miles when another shot from Hill's rifle brought him to the ground. He wounded another, but we did not follow him into the mountain. We dressed the buck and packed the meat taking it into camp upon two mules. The dressed quarters would at least have weighed 400 pounds. This stroke of good luck dissipated the idea of eating our mules. The meat was excellent, resembling young beef. We enjoyed a rare and bounteous feast this evening, and I think it was seldom that men were more in need of being full fed than ourselves. Supper lasted from dark until 10 o'clock. Distance, 15 miles—2399.

Tuesday, Sept. 11.—Did not start until 10 o'clock, being engaged in cutting up and packing our elk meat. We have reached the western end of the lake, and our course is

now north. Passed an Indian village of about 30 huts. They stay here during the dry season and live upon fish, wild fowl, muscles, etc. They also collect the seed of a species of grass that grows along the lake here in abundance. It resembles flaxseed, somewhat, being of a glutinous nature. They parch and pulverize it, and it makes a very good flour. We tried to purchase some of it, being out of breakstuffs, but they would sell none. We endeavored to hire a guide here, but failed. At this place we came upon the trail of five California carts, which came from the Mission of San Luis, and went to the mines, loaded with merchandise. Encamped at the end of the lake; no wood or grass, and the water still very nauseous to the taste. We spied what we thought to be a pole sticking in the ground about half a mile from camp. On going to it we found a number of small poles placed around an Indian grave, and the one we saw standing upright. Glad to get firewood we robbed it completely, not stopping to discuss the question of right or wrong. Again beset by myriads of hungry mosquitoes. We neither rested nor slept during the whole night. Distance, 15 miles—2414.

Wednesday, Sept. 12.—Started early, but soon lost the trail, the country being literally cut up with paths of wild animals. Saw a great many wild horses, elk, antelope, wolves, rabbits, etc. The horses generally run in large "caballadas," hundreds or more together. On first sight of us they toss up their heads and manes, snort and prance about for a moment. They then start at full speed for the mountains, always in single file. A cloud of dust marks their course, for they seldom stop until far out of sight. It is a beautiful show. They are all colors, and many of them noble looking animals. They frequently come near camp after dark, and course around it at night, endeavoring to entice our mules away. The Spaniards are in the habit of coming into the valley at a certain season of the year, to lasso horses. This art must certainly require very fleet and well trained animals. We had not traveled long this morning before we came in sight of timber, which we hailed with joy, being the first we have seen for eight days, or since we have been in the valley. When we came up with the timber we found it to border on a deep, muddy stream, running south towards the lake. This we afterwards learned was Lake Fork river, which we should have crossed. We were anxious to get over, but could find no fording. It appears that we are never to see the end of our troubles and perplexities. By a more extended calculation,

we had expected to be at the mines before this time. We are now out of provisions and more than 100 miles from the diggings. But we will not despair while "we have the wide world before us and Providence for guide." Distance, 16 miles—2430.

Thursday, Sept. 13.—After failing to cross the stream yesterday, we traveled 8 miles in a N. W. direction, and encamped on the border of a swamp, where we found good grass and tolerable water. This morning we returned to the river, being pretty certain, although not sure, that we could cross at that point. We retraced our steps, and after a long search in vain, we gave up the idea that we should cross there, and concluded to shape our course N. W., until we should reach the Rio San Joaquin. Returned to the place we had left this morning and encamped, making the loss of another day. Very discouraging. Distance, 16 miles—2446.

*(To be concluded)*

## NECROLOGY

*Alvan Newton White.*—Alvan Newton White died at his home in Silver City on the morning of Monday, June 18, after a brief illness. White was born on May 8, 1869, at Fallbranch, Washington county, Tennessee, the son of Richard Jasper White and Nancy Jane Lady White. After attending public schools in Tennessee, he entered Greeneville and Tusculum College, Tusculum, Tenn., and thence went to Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City, Tenn., from which he received his A.B. degree in 1893. After years of the practice of law in Tennessee, Oklahoma and New Mexico, he was admitted to the bar of the United States Supreme Court on March 9, 1916.

White came to New Mexico in 1896. Three years later, on October 24, 1899, he married Louise Dickinson at Nashville, Tenn. Her death a few months ago, hastened his own demise, according to his friends. Three children were born to the couple; Justine, deceased; Athington of Silver City, and Arneille, wife of Bernard Roberts of Santa Fé. Six grandchildren and several brothers are members of the immediate family.

Soon after engaging in law practice at Silver City, White was named city attorney, serving in 1897 and 1898. His first elective office was that of superintendent of schools of Grant county, an honor he held for three terms, 1901 to 1907. First attempts to enter upon a legislative career were frustrated, having been defeated for the legislative house in 1898, for the territorial senate in 1906 and the constitutional convention in 1910. After that, he was invariably successful at the polls, being elected a member of the New Mexico house of representatives from 1926 on, serving four times as its speaker, 1931, 1933, 1935 and 1937, chosen three times as such unanimously. His knowledge of legislative procedure and his fairness in presiding made him a favorite of both parties. In 1929, he functioned as Democratic floor leader in the house. White was chairman of the Democratic central committee of Grant county 1926 and 1927, member of the state bar

commission 1931 to 1939, assistant district attorney of the Sixth Judicial District of New Mexico in 1932, federal director for New Mexico of the United States Employment Service, member of the American Bar Association having been a member of its house of delegates 1937-1939, president of the New Mexico Bar Association 1936-1937. He was a Baptist, a 32d degree Mason, a Knight Templar, a Shriner, and an Elk. As one of the incorporators and president of the New Mexico Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, White was deeply interested in the School of American Research, the Museum of New Mexico and the New Mexico Historical Society, never failing to guard their interests in legislative matters. Author of a "Geography of New Mexico," published in 1918, White also wrote various official reports and contributed articles to sundry publications. His funeral took place at Silver City on Wednesday, June 20.—P. A. F. W.

*Numa C. Frenger.*—Stricken during a session of district court at Las Cruces, over which he presided, on the evening of Monday, June 11, Judge Numa C. Frenger died early the following morning, victim of an attack of acute indigestion.

Born in Socorro on January 21, 1876, Frenger was the son of a sutler for the U. S. Army during the Civil War, who followed the troops from frontier post to frontier post but finally settled in central New Mexico. The father died when the future judge was only four years old. Reared by Numa Reymond, of Las Cruces, who accumulated considerable wealth as an early-day trader and stage coach operator of the line from Trinidad, Colorado, to Franklin, now El Paso, Texas, Frenger became one of the first students of the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, from there volunteering into Roosevelt's Rough Riders in 1898. Upon return from the Spanish-American War, he entered the University of Michigan Law School and was admitted to the New Mexico Bar in 1901, three years later.

In 1923, Frenger was a member of the New Mexcio

house of representatives. In 1926, he was appointed judge of the Third Judicial District by Governor A. T. Hannett to succeed Judge Edwin Medler, resigned. He served as judge continuously from then until his death, having been re-elected for a third elective term of six years in 1942.

Judge Frenger was a member of the Las Cruces city council, the Las Cruces school board, the state interstate streams commission, the district irrigation board, a regent of the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts and a commander of the Department of New Mexico Spanish-American War Veterans. Interested in the progress of Las Cruces and the Mesilla Valley, he had the satisfaction of seeing the completion of a fine public library, a modern court house, new buildings at the Agricultural College and other far-reaching civic improvements to the furtherance of which he gave time and effort.

Judge Frenger was married on September 2, 1902, in Los Angeles, to Clara Jacoby, who survives him, together with a daughter, Mrs. J. A. Livingston of Arlington, Va. Judge Frenger was a Presbyterian, a Mason and a Democrat. Funeral services were held in the Presbyterian Church at Las Cruces, the pastor, Rev. Frank Jones, officiating, assisted by Rev. Clarence Ridge, pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Church, and Rev. Hunter Lewis, pioneer Episcopalian missionary. Ceremonies at the grave were conducted by Aztec Lodge, A. F. & A. M. Among the many attending were Justice Daniel K. Sadler of the New Mexico Supreme Court, Santa Fé; District Judge A. W. Marshall of Deming; District Judge Charles H. Fowler of Socorro, and Judge J. L. Lawson of Alamogordo, who was appointed to succeed Judge Frenger.—P. A. F. W.

*Frank Bond.*—Frank Bond, merchant and wool grower, who came to New Mexico from Canada in 1882, died on June 21, in Encinas Sanatarium, Los Angeles, of a chronic heart ailment, at the age of 82 years.

When his brother George now living at Santa Anna, Calif., left Quebec province, Canada, 63 years ago, Frank Bond, then 19 years old, soon followed. The Santa Fé

Railway had reached Santa Fé only two years before, when Frank and his brother set out overland to Chamita (San Juan Pueblo) in Rio Arriba county, miles from the railroad, and entered the employ there of the late Samuel Eldodt, a pioneer merchant and Indian trader. Less than a year later, the brothers bought a small mercantile establishment at Española, thirty miles north of Santa Fé, and there began a career as sheep and cattle growers, merchants, and gradually acquiring large land interests, including the famous Baca Location or Valle Grande, in the heart of the Jemez mountains. George moved to Wagon Mound where is located one of the various "Bond" mercantile houses. Frank created a pleasant home with spread lawn and flower beds in Española, which he left in 1925 for Albuquerque for family health reasons. There he organized and incorporated the Bond interests as Frank Bond & Son, Ltd., with his son Franklin, his grandson and adopted son Captain Gordon Bond at present with the U. S. Army in Italy, and John Davenport of Española, who supervises the Bond interests in northern New Mexico. The firm's interests include two large wool warehouses, one at Albuquerque, and the other, Bond-Baker Co., at Roswell; also the Bond & Willard Company at Española; A. MacArthur Company at Wagon Mound; Española Mercantile Company at Española; Bond and Wiest, Inc., at Cuervo, and Bond-Gunderson Co., at Grants. According to the *Albuquerque Morning Journal:*

> "New Mexico in 1883 seemed to Frank Bond 'a perfect desert.'
>
> "Grain was transported in tanned buffalo sacks on burros, four-horse stages ran from Santa Fe to Espanola.
>
> "These and other colorful descriptive passages were included in a handwritten manuscript by Mr. Bond which he wrote in 1929.
>
> "The youth who was to establish a mercantile and sheep company that would spread over the state visited Santa Fe in the fall of 1883.
>
> " 'The plaza had board walks and bal-

conies overhead, full of saloons and a wide-open town. Motley's dance hall was going full blast, he wrote. I felt I was in a foreign town.

"Frank Bond was president of Frank Bond and Son, Inc., until he left for California. He was spoken of as a possible gubernatorial candidate in 1924 and again in 1928, but preferred the more reserved work of building the state's economic enterprises than serving in politics.

"In 1930 the Bond enterprises put on 11 eastern markets 30,000 heads of lamb in one day, establishing a record for the country. That year, 140,000 heads of lamb were fed by them.

"Of the 13 million pounds of wool raised one year in New Mexico, four and a half million pounds were handled by the Wool Warehouse in Albuquerque and another four million pounds by the Bond-Baker Co. at Roswell.

"For the past 30 years the annual stockholders meeting of the Bond companies held in Albuquerque, have brought together company members and their families from all parts of the state.

"The Frank Bonds built the residence at 201 North Twelfth now owned by Dr. W. R. Lovelace."

The latter years of Frank Bond were saddened by the death at Albuquerque in 1923 of his mother; in 1926 of his father; then in 1927 of his daughter Mrs. Amy Corlett, wife of General C. H. Corlett; in 1929 of his daughter, Mrs. Hazel McClain; and in 1935 of his wife, Mrs. Frank Bond, all of whom are buried in Fairview Cemetery, Albuquerque. This is also the last resting place of Frank Bond. The funeral services took place in St. John's Cathedral of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Albuquerque, Dean Lloyd W. Clark officiating. The pall bearers were: Otto Hake, manager of the Albuquerque Bond Company office, Stuart MacArthur of Wagon Mound, Frank Willard, W. P. Cook, C. C. Titus and John Davenport, associates of the deceased in his business enterprises.—P. A. F. W.

*The Wild Horse of the West.* By Walker D. Wyman. (The Caxton Printers. Caldwell, Idaho, 1945. Pp. 348. Bibliography, index, illustrations by Harold Bryant.)

What has happened to the mustang and to the wild or feral horse, whether of Spanish or American ancestry, in the West, is exhaustively and interestingly set forth by Walker D. Wyman. His is, perhaps, the final word on the history of the horse on the western range, for it includes a compilation of most of what has been written and said on the subject, in addition to the author's own observations and conclusions. He begins his treatise with an account of the eohippus, the prehistoric horse of millions of years ago, but which had vanished from the American scene before the advent of man, and ends with the tragic tale of the extermination of the mustang, converted into dog food by horse-meat canning plants.

Wyman draws a definite distinction between the mustang and the feral horse and declares: "the true wild horse exists in only one place, Mongolia." To Columbus is given the credit for introducing the horse to America, so that by 1500 "a fair beginning had been made in ranching." "After 1510 prices began to increase. A horse that could have been purchased for four or five pesos in that year, sold for 200 in 1530 and for 500 in 1538. It was soon thereafter, in 1540, when escapes from the Coronado expedition, and in 1543, when six horses liberated by De Soto, according to legend, became the ancestors of the wild horses of the West. Wyman, however, scouts this idea and asserts that "it is probable that the wild horse herds emerged from the ranches or mission ranches of the Spanish in the Americas, not from some tired horses of the conquistadores."

Chapters III and IV Wyman devotes to the place that the horse has played in the history and economy of the Indian. The period from 1680 to 1750 saw the conquest of the horse by the Indians north of Mexico. "The horse changed the whole life of the aborigine. It was as important to him as the coming of steam to the white man." And

further: "With them he bought his wives and paid his debts. 'It was the greatest ambition of an Indian to be the owner of a band of horses; his chances of success were nil without them; his wealth and social position was determined by the number he possessed.'" * * * "One old chief told Captain Marcy that his four sons were a comfort to him because they could steal more horses than any other members of the tribe."

Important as was the horse to the Indian, he was essential to the rancher, to whom however, the wild horse became a nuisance and even a menace. "To most cattlemen a wild horse was something to shoot, not to capture." After referring to the establishment of horse ranches in the West and the origin of the western pony and the palomino, the author devotes a chapter to "The Army and the Mustang" and the traffic in horses, augmented by the demand created by the Boer War and the first World War. He concludes: "In 1940 there were no longer any horses available, other than strictly supervised range horses. * * * "The wild horse made his contribution to the army in the period after the Mexican War when he was worth something. After 1900 he no longer deserved the reputation his mustang ancestors made for him. Today he is headed for the cauldron."

It is after these 126 pages of preliminary history of the horse in the West that the book turns to its main theme: "The disappearance of the mustang and the extermination of the wild horse from the western range." The mustang, true descendant of the Spanish horse in America, was deemed a pest by the first cattlemen in New Mexico in the 1870's and 80's. Nevertheless "the disappearance of a great proportion of the mustangs is a mystery." The author quotes a contemporary "that many thousands of these ponies were surreptitiously converted into canned beef and are even now being served over Eastern tables and army messes as a select product of the cattle range." It was the enactment of the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934, together with the government range control of Indian reservations, which spelled the final chapter in the history

of the wild horse. The methods of control and extermination are described in detail under such chapter headings as "From Cow Pony to Cauldron," "Methods of the Mustangers," "The Herd and the Horse," "From Mustang to Broomtail," "The Stallion in Fact and Fancy." The efforts to "Save the Wild Horse" by a few romanticists are termed futile. "Rather than preserve degenerate strays, it is better to look backward to that which once was, and cease thinking of perpetuating that which does not exist," is the final advice of the author.

This is a book which holds the interest not only of students of western history and of the range, but also of the general reader. There are a few palpable contradictions, several slight errors of historical fact and some looseness in continuity and construction, due no doubt to haste in writing under pressure of other tasks and the great variety of opinions encountered in the authorities searched and quoted. The bibliography and index show painstaking labor. The numerous citations, both poetic and prose, are enlightening and occasionally amusing, testifying to the author's wide reading. The typography, illustrations and attractive binding of the volume are a credit to the Caxton Printers of Caldwell, Idaho, who have published several scores of excellent volumes appertaining to western history and literature.—P. A. F. W.

*A Du Val Map of 1670.*—Recently the University of New Mexico Library acquired a number of maps, one of which (reproduced in actual size) we are using as the frontispiece of this issue. The dealer was doubtless correct in attributing the map to the French map-maker, Pierre Du Val; but he is believed to have been wrong in assigning it the date of 1682, and also in stating that the map was unknown to Phillips.

Small as it is, the map shows a vertical fold, and along the fold are remains of a paper tab by which it had been bound into some atlas,—this fact explains why the author's name does not appear on the map itself. P. L. Phillips, *A list of geographical atlases in the Library of Congress*

(Washington 1909) shows as title no. 481: "Du Val, P., *Le monde ov la geographie vniverselle, contenant les descriptions, les cartes, & le blafon des principaux pais du monde* . . . 2 v. 24°. Paris, l'auteur, N. Pepingue, 1670." Elsewhere (title no. 3434) Phillips gives the size as 16°; in either case, the atlas was small enough to slip into the side-pocket of a modern coat. Map No. 9 in Du Val's first volume is of "Novveav Mexiqve," and this we believe to be the one which we are here discussing.

Woodbury Lowery *(A descriptive list of maps of the Spanish possessions within the present limits of the United States, 1502-1820,* Library of Congress 1912), lists and describes a similar map of Florida from the same atlas (LC 153), and in an accompanying note quotes a French authority to show that Pierre du Val d'Abbeville lived from 1619 to 1684; that he was a counselor of the king and also "geographer of the king." "His works are still esteemed (1872), being considerable in number and importance." And this authority adds the interesting fact that "he was related to the Sansons, celebrated geographers." Lowery, under his title no. 136, lists the Sansons as the father Nicolas (1600-1667), a son of the same name (d. 1649), sons Guillaume (d. 1703) and Adrien (d. 1718); and a grandson Pierre Moullart-Sanson who died in 1730. Perhaps we should note also another Frenchman who had an active part in the map-making of that period: Hubert Jaillot (c. 1640-1712). He came to Paris in 1657 and some years later became interested in geography. In 1668-69, he published "the four parts of the world" according to Bleau, and then acquired from the Sansons the designs of many new maps which he engraved with remarkable neatness. In 1675, he obtained the title of "geographer ordinary to the king," and worked without relaxation to increase his collection of maps. (Lowery, *op. cit.,* title no. 168)

The earliest Sanson map portraying New Mexico was of 1657 and has been reproduced (from an original copy owned by our Society at Santa Fé) in our issue of April 1936 (Vol. XI, no. 2). A comparison of that map with the one of 1670 here discussed is instructive in many ways.

The two most glaring errors of the map-makers were the showing of California as an island (an error which was to persist until 1746) and of the Rio del Norte as emptying into the Gulf of California. This latter error was to be corrected, together with a pretty thorough straightening out of place names, by the arrival in Paris in 1673 of Don Diego de Peñalosa. (Compare the Peñalosa map reproduced in our issue of April 1934, Vol. IX, no. 2; and the Coronelli map in our issue of October 1927, Vol. II, no. 4.)

Attention is called to the boundaries of New Mexico with other jurisdictions,—shown by Du Val by dotted lines. Canada was contiguous to the northeast; Florida to the east (Du Val shows this boundary close to the right edge of his map; the name is supplied by the Sanson map). In other words, Florida, New Mexico, and California spanned the continent for Spain in the seventeenth century.

Numerous other details might be noted, but we shall remark on only two—which show how many mistakes doubtless originated by the careless reading of an engraver. On the outer coast of upper California the "Puerto de Francisco Draco" (Sanson) became the "Port du St. Francisqe Drac" (Du Val); and the "Punta de Monte Rey" became the "Port de Monterey." True, Drake had been on the California coast nearly a century earlier and named his "New Albion," but he was no saint; and even the discovery of the true San Francisco Bay was not to be made until a full century after the drawing of this map by Du Val.—L. B. B.

*Legislative Appropriations.*—Biennial appropriations to historical societies by several western states: State Historical Society of Missouri, $67,000; Illinois Historical Society and Library $105,000; Iowa State Historical Society, Archives and State Department of History $158,256; Minnesota Historical Society $95,840; Wisconsin Historical Society $140,000. The Missouri Historical Society employs thirteen persons and pays its secretary and librarian, Floyd C. Shoemaker, an annual salary of $5800 and traveling expenses. The Society has a membership of 5000.

*Life Memberships.*—Recent life memberships granted by the Historical Society of New Mexico went to Lt. D. E. Worcester, U. S. Navy, author of "The Spread of Spanish Horses in the Southwest" published in the July issue of 1944, of the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, and to David M. Warren of Panhandle, Texas, vice-chairman of the board of regents of the University of Texas and publisher and editor of the *Panhandle Herald.*

*Folk Arts Conference.*—"Folklore has become a fad and has attracted to itself a large dilettante following, usually because of the 'quaintness' of old customs and the simplicity or lack of sophistication of the tales or songs of the forefathers or of belated communities today. The study has also drawn to it somewhat more than its share of eccentrics and 'nut'!" Thus writes Sith Thompson in the latest issue of *Minnesota History.* The comment appears in his review of the Folk Arts Conference held at the University of Minnesota. He continues "But in spite of the evil name that these well-meaning but ineffective folk have acquired in serious academic circles, there has been a considerable group of scholars whose handling of folklore has been as intelligent, as well-disciplined, and as definitely directed as the investigations of the best of their fellows in adjacent scholarly fields." The writer insists that the folk-lorists should have academic training and acquire specific and specialized knowledge.

Even here in New Mexico one runs across so-called folklore or even so-called Indian mythology which can be traced back to the Biblical and other religious tales used by the Franciscan missionaries to instruct their simple-minded charges who put their own construction upon what they thought they heard, and which by retelling strayed far from their original context.—P. A. F. W.

# New Mexico Historical Review

PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS, SANTA FÉ

October, 1945

*Editors*

LANSING B. BLOOM PAUL A. F. WALTER

*Associates*

PERCY M. BALDWIN GEORGE P. HAMMOND
FRANK T. CHEETHAM THEODOSIUS MEYER, O.F.M.
FRANCE V. SCHOLES

VOL. XX OCTOBER, 1945 NO. 4

CONTENTS

*Page*

Shalam: Facts vs. Fiction . . . . Jone Howlind 281

History of the Albuquerque Indian School (to 1934), concl. Lillie G. McKinney 310

From Lewisburg to California in 1849, concl. (ed.) L. B. Bloom 336

Necrology: Nathan Jaffa *Albuquerque Tribune*, Sept. 13, 1945 358

Notes and Comments: . . . . . . . . 359-366

The Atomic Bomb; The VT Fuse; Los Alamos Ranch School; Raynolds Library; Morley Ecclesiastical Art Gift; Mexico Field School Session

Errata and Index

The NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is $3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are $1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. L. B. Bloom, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XX — OCTOBER, 1945 — NO. 4

## SHALAM: FACTS VERSUS FICTION

*By* JONE HOWLIND

(As the editor responsible for the acceptance of articles for publication, we have been mortified to learn that last year an article which was in considerable part fiction—or shall we say "creative writing"—was accepted by us in the guise of bona fide history. We are glad, therefore, to be able to give our readers a second article on Shalam, sent us by one who was so intimately identified with the founders of that little colony. "Jone Howlind" is a penname, we are informed, which Miss Howland assumed when she joined the newspaper world in El Paso.—L. B. B.)

RECENTLY an article on Shalam was brought to my attention which appeared in the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW (April 1944), and was titled: "The Land of Shalam: Utopia in New Mexico" by Julia Keleher. As the article was almost completely unrelated to fact, and, so it seemed to me, quite malicious, my first reaction was to ignore it. Then I realized that possibly many fine, sincere people might have read it, believed it true and accepted its wild statements and prevarications. To such people, I address this reply and corrections, and state some simple facts about Shalam; Dr. John B. Newbrough, my father; his wife, my mother; and Andrew M. Howland who later became my step-father.

Newbrough was born on a farm in Ohio, June 5, 1828. He worked his way through medical school by living in the home of a dentist and assisting him. He liked this work and soon combined the two courses so that he was graduated both an M.D. and a D.D.S. When the gold rush of 1849 came, he joined the procession and went to California. Suc-

cessful here, he went to the gold fields of Australia. Between these two ventures he made something like $50,000. After a trip around the world, he settled in New York City, took up the practice of dentistry, and lived there until he went to New Mexico in 1884. He invested his money in New York real estate and built up a large and successful practice.

We can tell a good deal about a man from the books he owned and read. As he marked his books, making copious notations, it is still easier to follow the trend of his mind. Among his many books, history, science, sociology — are Agassiz, Humboldt, Hume, Darwin, and Draper, to mention a few.

While it may cause a raising of eyebrows now to learn that Newbrough became interested in spiritualism, it is only because people today do not realize the tremendous sweep over the whole civilized world spiritualism made during the middle of the last century. In Italy, Germany, France, England, the foremost scientific men not only engaged in investigating it, they openly endorsed it. So in investigating spiritualism, Newbrough was not only swept along with the masses of ordinary folk, he was in the company of the greatest minds of the day. In 1881, he produced by automatic control a book called *Oahspe.* For this work he has been written up by the British and American Psychical Research Societies. *Oahspe* has attracted eminent thinkers and scholars, and it has also attracted people of low mental order and countless so-called cranks. We can say the same thing for the Bible.

The *Oahspe* plan for bettering society is this: that believers shall gather orphan and castaway babies, go to a remote, isolated spot, found a colony and here raise these children. These people are to care for, raise and educate these children, teach them trades or useful occupations, teach them to be co-operative, loving and helpful towards one another, raise them on a strict vegetarian diet and give them strict religious training in the worship of their heavenly Father.

For something so simple as this, would-be writers have heaped vitriol, calumny, and lies upon lies on Newbrough,

his wife and Howland, not only while they lived, but even today after Newbrough has been dead fifty-four years! World renowned swindlers have been more gently dealt with and had greater respect shown them. Indeed, even murderers who have committed atrocities upon the dead bodies of their victims have never come in for the spleen, vituperation, malice, slander, rankling with scorn and hate, that have been heaped upon all of them, and especially Newbrough. When I think of this and then the kind of man Newbrough really was, I am reminded of another who went around doing good. Before they nailed Him to a cross, He said: "If the world hate you, ye know that it hated Me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you." (St. John, C. 15, vs. 18-19)

There are two things Newbrough did while he was practicing dentistry in New York which show something of his character. At this time Goodyear held the patents on a process used in rubber plates for false teeth. This made the plates expensive and in turn worked a hardship on new dentists or dentists who had a poor practice. Newbrough had a lucrative enough practice so that it didn't hurt him, but he didn't like what it did to others. Being a chemist, he began experimenting and finally produced a plate as good or better than Goodyear's. Goodyear promptly sued him, claiming that Newbrough had infringed the Goodyear patent. Newbrough lost the suit in the lower court and carried it to the higher court where he won the suit. He was therefore entitled to patent his invention, and doubtless he could have made a comfortable sum. The suit had cost him $20,000, and it would seem that at least he could have held the patent long enough to reimburse himself what the suit had cost him. He did neither. Having won the suit, he gave his invention to the dental profession.

He had been impressed by the long, hard struggle a young dentist had to make before he began to make a living. Newbrough worked out a plan, and though it was a small plan, through it he helped dozens of young dentists get

started. He would employ a graduate dentist in his office. Here the young man gained experience. When Newbrough was satisfied that he possessed the right character and ability, he would open an office, furnish and equip it, pay the rent on it and put this young man in at a salary. After he had built up a self-supporting practice, Newbrough turned it all over to him. In this way, he helped dozens of young dentists get started and eased them through the starvation period of the beginner professional man.

But though he was helping people the best he could, though he had a good practice, he saw things which marred his happiness. As he went to and fro on New York streets on winter nights, he saw hundreds of children shivering in thin, scanty clothes, dashing along icy pavements—newsboys selling papers for a few pennies at all hours of the night. The wrongness of it, the pity of it hurt him to the depths of his great heart. I feel quite sure that it was these pitiful little children, the plight of under-privileged children to be seen on every hand in large cities, that finally decided Newbrough to start Shalam colony. He used to say to my mother—"if we could only take ten or twelve children who have no chance at all and give them a real home, our love and care!"

The hocus-pocus yarn that Newbrough was blindfolded to find Shalam is purely a Munchausen fabrication. He searched for fully a year before he found the spot that suited him. Learning that he was hunting for such a place, people from various parts of the United States, some friends, some strangers, wrote him suggesting places, and if they seemed at all suitable, he went to see them. He made many fruitless trips and traveled over much of the country before he finally found the desired spot. This was by accident. His train was taking him to California and passed through the Mesilla Valley. On his return he stopped off, and not knowing anyone personally, he hunted up a brother Mason. This man drove him up and down the valley. As they drove, Newbrough finally saw a place that enchanted him,—a wilderness nestling in a horseshoe bend of the Rio Grande, mountains close behind it, mountains to

the north, the beautiful stately Organ Mountains fifteen miles directly east. It was love at first sight—a love that lasted the rest of his life. There were 1200 acres in this bend—afterwards the river washed some of it away so that in the end there were only 900 acres. He then and there bought the entire 1200 acres paying all cash for it, and it was his own cash, not Howland's, nor contributions from any one else. Whatever he paid for it, it was too much, for none of it was irrigable as the Santa Fé railroad tracks separated this land from the irrigation canal, known as the Las Cruces ditch. The only other irrigation ditch lay still further east.

The gossip about Newbrough getting Howland to buy this land, the reference to the land in such glowing words as "fertile Mesilla Valley" definitely establish that such writers are either under forty years of age, or are newcomers to the Mesilla Valley. Old timers know that land in cultivation, close enough to one of the two ditches of that early day to be subject to irrigation, undependable though it was, was worth at the most about $50 per acre. All other land was worthless. It was not until the Elephant Butte dam was assured (about 1906-7) that the sleeping Mesilla Valley awoke. In the 1880's even Las Cruces was but a village with not too many Americans. Until this dam was built, the Rio Grande was a fickle, treacherous stream — sometimes a raging torrent that flooded the valley, washed out railroad tracks, destroyed crops and brought ruin in its wake, at other times, it was a narrow stream too low to reach the mouth of either of the two ditches (the Las Cruces and Doña Ana) and for many months of the year, it was a dry, sandy road-bed. As no crops will grow in this Mesilla Valley without irrigation, it should not be hard to realize that even land which lay within reach of these ditches, with their undependable water supply, was not worth much, and land beyond these ditches was, from a commercial standpoint, worthless. Such land was Shalam land.

It is doubtful if Newbrough realized all this for it was covered with vegetation. The reason was that surrounded on three sides by the river that overflowed deeply into the land,

there was enough water to cause a heavy growth of cottonwood, scrub willow and tornilla on the fringe adjacent to the river while mesquite and other desert plants flourished on the center and higher portions of the land. It looked very beautiful and green so it is no wonder that Newbrough, an eastern man, little suspected that he was getting land on which no crops would grow without irrigation. However little he paid for it, he paid too much, but he was satisfied and never begrudged the price.

Newbrough was not a poor man except by comparison with Howland. To a man who had spent $20,000 on a law suit and then had given the benefit of this away without even collecting the $20,000, who had bought the dental equipment and set up in business dozens of young dentists, the few hundred dollars he had paid for Shalam was not a matter of great importance. It is quite likely that it cost more to equip one dental office than this land had cost.

In the fall of 1884, when I was eight months old, Newbrough brought my mother and me and some twenty-odd people down to New Mexico to the place which was to become Shalam. Due to the fact that it was not irrigable, the whole tract was a virgin wilderness—very beautiful, but inhabited by everything which terrifies women: skunks, wild-cats, various kinds of snakes, including the rattler, centipedes, scorpions, tarantulas, while all through the night the air was filled with the weird, plaintive howl of the coyote. My mother had never lived outside New York City and all the others had come from the well-settled regions of the south and east. This wilderness and its wild life must have been a harrowing experience for all. At first they lived in tents, cooking and eating outdoors. Newbrough built an outdoor oven of adobes in which some of the food was cooked (they baked bread here), while boiled food was cooked in kettles over fires. The men hauled the muddy river water by buckets and the women boiled this, settling it as best they could. This was all the drinking and wash water they had until they could dig a well. Altogether, life for them during these first months was as rugged and primitive as anything faced by any American pioneers. To

add to their discomfort, winter came on fast—winter that was cold enough to freeze water, and brought snow and icy winds.

These people worked. Self-preservation, if nothing else, attended to that. The man who drinks muddy river water will be in a hurry to dig a well. Lugging water from the river wasn't pleasant either. Life in a tent through a New Mexico winter was anything but a pleasant prospect. However, none of them knew how to build anything. So Newbrough hired Mexicans from Doña Ana (a Mexican settlement of about 300 people which lay about a mile and a half east of Shalam), and they came over, made adobes, and working with the colonists, built two two-room houses. Into these when they were finished went the women and children. These houses, poor little huts really, were, compared to the tents, snug and warm and comfortable. Their great drawback was that they swarmed with centipedes, and my mother was terrified that some would fall on me as I lay sleeping in my crib. All bedding had to be shaken at night before getting in to bed just in case a centipede might be lurking within the covers, and in the morning all clothing, including shoes, had to be examined for the same reason. Yet despite these hardships, perhaps because of them, that year seemed to be a happy year. The terrors, privations, the wind and coyotes howling outside, the eagerness to hurry and get a comfortable dwelling, drew them together in spirit as they sat huddled around the blazing fires in these little huts.

As soon as these were finished, work was begun on the big, main building which was to house them all—Fraternum. This was to be an immense house (something like forty rooms, Spanish Mission style built around a patio) and Newbrough knew that the unskilled, inexperienced colonists, regardless of willingness, would never get it done. Consequently he hired a crew of Mexicans and these together with the colonists rushed the building as fast as possible. By 1885 when Howland first came to Shalam, it was nearly completed and everyone had moved in.

Andrew M. Howland came to Shalam from Boston,

Mass., where he had been a successful wool merchant for years. Originally he came from New Bedford, Mass. and belonged to the famous Howland family. He was first cousin to Hetty Howland Robinson Green. The Howlands had made vast fortunes in the whaling business, and the Howland Islands in the Pacific were named after some member of this family. The statement that Howland had been in the coffee business, made by Miss Keleher, is as unrelated to fact as her other statements. No member of the Howland family had ever been in the coffee business. (She also stated that Newbrough came from Boston, another erroneous statement).

The muckrakers may be dismayed to learn that Howland never turned over any of his money to Newbrough! It is really quite amusing how defamers of Shalam and its founders have switched sides over the years. When Newbrough was alive, he was the big, black devil with pitchfork and cloven hoofs—Howland a vague, shadowy echo. But after Newbrough died, critics began to change their allegiance. They got off their old, faded hobby-horse, Hating Newbrough, and climbed on board the bright, shining new one—Hating Howland! Now Newbrough had become a simple prophet and sincere in his efforts to build what he thought was to be a better state of things, but calamity of calamities! This simple good man had died, and a wicked, scheming rich man had seized Newbrough's dream to build it into a monument to himself! However, now that both men are dead, they seem to have gone back to their first love, Hating Newbrough. This hobby-horse is a bit shop-worn, but they have brightened it up with a coat of paint, and seem very happy with it. In case anyone doesn't know, one story is that Newbrough was the schemer, Howland, the dupe. The other story is Newbrough was the victim, Howland the schemer. Take your choice. They can't both be right. These stories circulated by people who never knew either man and probably never knew anyone who knew either man, are a bit absurd to me, the daughter of Newbrough, the step-daughter of Howland. You see, young though I was, I can still remember what close good friends these two men were.

As to either man tricking the other, I think I have laid that ghost in my "Story of Shalam" (still in manuscript form) by showing chronologically what was each man's contribution in building Shalam.

In the old days, people used to send in clippings or papers containing these vituperative attacks, and believe it or not, Newbrough, Howland and my mother used to laugh over them! I can still see my father as he used to shake his head, smile and say—"let them have their fun." Miss Keleher's article shows no imagination. I think I qualify as an expert in making this statement for I have read attacks in which the imagination of the writer really reached the stratosphere.

Take the yarn, for example, about the little cellar Howland had built after Newbrough died. A reporter came up one day and asked to be shown around. So we showed him around. He was taken everywhere. He asked questions about everything. Seeing the little plot enclosed by a white fence, he asked about that. We told him it was the Shalam burial ground, that Newbrough himself was buried there. Well, he wandered around and finally came upon our cellar. Now Howland had grown up back east where houses had cellars in which food was stored, and he liked the idea. So he had had a small room built of brick, half below ground, half above. To add a touch of architecture to it, the front and back walls came up straight and stood above the roof. The roof was curved, made of cement. I confess it did look a little like a tomb. The reporter asked what it was, and we not only told him, but took him down inside to show him how cool and airy it was. He saw before him bins in which were such things as potatoes, onions, apples, etc. He said it was a very nice cellar and that it certainly was a good way to store such things. Then he went away and wrote the story of Shalam, and among other things he wrote that Howland had built a tomb for Newbrough right behind the kitchen door and that there Newbrough lay!

The next yarn was even more gruesome. Howland built a beautiful stone fountain in the center of our front lawn. This writer said that Howland, with malice aforethought,

had built the ever-spraying fountain above Newbrough's grave! He assured his readers very solemnly that we had buried Newbrough right on our front lawn! There was no excuse for such prevarications. Every visitor to Shalam saw the small cemetery and was told that Newbrough was buried there. I relate these stories to show that even when people knew the truth, they couldn't resist the temptation to distort it.

When Howland arrived in Shalam in 1885, he found the diet restricted in variety, though what they had was plentiful. This was partly due to their vegetarianism, and partly to the condition which prevailed at that date throughout the Southwest. These were no market gardens. Mexicans were poor gardeners and they grew what vegetables there were. If there were refrigerator cars, they didn't unload at Las Cruces. So the colonists lived on canned goods, beans, rice, potatoes, etc. The Mexicans introduced them to Mexican beans and taught them how to make chile and they liked these. About the first thing Howland did was to buy a carload lot of groceries and because he liked them and thought the colonists should have them, he added such things as olives, canned mushrooms, pressed dried fruit, apples, bananas, etc. etc. Then, although he had never done a day's work at manual labor, he rolled up his sleeves, supplied himself with cook books, and became cook! During the years that he cooked, there were all the way from five to forty people to be fed.

While Howland acted as cook, Newbrough busied himself with the carpenter work which still needed to be done in Fraternum. Some of the colonists helped him, others did nothing but sit around waiting for Howland's meals. A change had come over the colony. The driving urge of self-preservation which had sent them hurrying to build shelter in which to shield themselves from the freezing blasts of winter was gone. Each person had a comfortable room, a wood stove, a comfortable hair mattress (which was in those days what an inner spring is in these), good, new bedding, ample though simple bed room furniture and plenty of good food if you exclude the fact that, being strict vegetarians,

there were no milk, cheese, butter, eggs and of course no meat products. But there was something more than a mere lack of incentive at work as events which soon transpired proved. It was now evident that both Newbrough and Howland had money. Hadn't Newbrough before Howland had come upon the scene, bought the land? Bought all materials for building? Provided food and also for their other needs? When they had needed outside help, hadn't Newbrough hired Mexicans and paid them himself? He had not called a general meeting and asked for contributions! Not a soul had been asked to contribute so much as a dime! At the very beginning a few had put in small contributions—perhaps a hundred or two dollars. They could see with their own eyes such sums hadn't gone far. (Try feeding 30 to 40 people for two years!) And now here was Howland—evidently a far richer man than Newbrough. Didn't he buy food in carload lots?

One statement Miss Keleher made that was correct (I think it was the only one!) but it was true in a far different sense than she meant it. She writes: "In its (Shalam's) development, appeared the personal greed and individual selfishness which such societies usually encounter but fail to banish from their organization." (I wonder if she has seen a single place in the civilized world which has banished "personal greed and individual selfishness?" She should tell the world about it if she has, for I am sure everyone would be interested!)

Quoting Miss Keleher, NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. xix, p. 131:

> The one who precipitated crystalization of dissent, which had been growing for some time, however, was none other than Mrs. Sweet, whom Newbrough had married shortly after she became a member of the colony. The lady had ambitious plans, too, other than being the wife of an emissary from on High, and when it began to be noised around the settlement that she too, had her eye on the fortune that Howland had invested in the project, the colonists most concerned demanded either their money back, or clear titles to a fair share of the rich Mesilla Valley land.

This is as libelous and untrue a statement as has ever been made by anyone. Let's take that paragraph step by step. No one, either man or woman, named Sweet ever came to Shalam. Why does Miss Keleher call Mrs. Newbrough "Mrs. Sweet" when she admits she was Newbrough's wife? Then she says, "the lady had ambitious plans, too." Note that "too," and further on, ". . . it began to be noised around the settlement that she too had her eye on the fortune Howland had invested." Again that "too." I think Miss Keleher is saying things unconsciously that she had no intention of saying for this insignificant "too" can mean only one thing! Some of the colonists had their eye on Howland's fortune! What colonists? Why, the plaintiffs who sued Newbrough and Howland to collect $10,000. Why these plaintiffs should sue for "the fortune Howland had invested in the project" she does not make clear except to say vaguely that they demanded their money "back" or—mind this—"clear titles to a fair share of the rich Mesilla Valley land." (I have already explained that this " 'rich' Mesilla Valley land" was at that time worthless.) As Howland did not come to Shalam until 1885 and this suit was filed in 1886, he had not yet invested a "fortune" in Shalam! All he had invested at the time of the suit, they already had! In their stomachs!

As Miss Keleher tacitly admits, it was Howland's fortune they had their eyes on, and as no part of this fortune had been invested in Shalam at this time, this suit has all the earmarks of hijacking. In her next paragraph we are told that they sued Howland and Newbrough for $10,000. At this time the land and improvements were not worth $5000. Here is what the property consisted of at the time of the suit: 1200 acres of arid land separated from the nearest (about a mile) ditch by railroad tracks, an unplastered adobe building containing approximately forty rooms (that couldn't have been used by anyone except the colonists), a one-room adobe building used as a temple, three small adobe two-room houses, a small shed for the four horses (no other livestock), one shallow well with hand-pump, no improved land—not so much as a carrot growing! Miss Keleher calls the $10,000 "their (the plaintiffs') fair share." I don't

know and therefore wouldn't say, how many of the colonists were plaintiffs in this suit. I am sure not more than half a dozen, perhaps not that many. Miss Keleher mentions only one. I also don't know how many colonists were there at this time. There might have been fifteen or twenty, or there might have been thirty. Let's be fair and say there were only fifteen. I am sure there were that many. Grant there were six plaintiffs, and again I am sure there were no more than that. Now if Newbrough and Howland had had to pay six of them $10,000 "as a fair share", what would they have had to pay the other nine? Don't bother to figure it. It would have been all the traffic would bear. The New Mexico Supreme Court denied their claim and declared: "The evidence in support of the Plaintiff's demand is as startling as the declaration is unique." (6 N.M. Supreme Court Reports—1896—p. 182.)

Miss Keleher obviously didn't mean that the plaintiffs in this amazing suit were the ones guilty of "personal greed and individual selfishness" for she tells us that those "sincerely caught in the fog of religious fanaticism" were "disillusioned" by this decision of the court, and left Shalam. I fail to see how any sincere person would be "disillusioned" because someone tried and failed to get $10,000 out of a property that by the wildest stretch of imagination was not worth $5000. It is hard to follow Miss Keleher for she has tacitly admitted in the former paragraph that what they really had their eye on was Howland's fortune!

Newbrough and Howland reacted to this suit as any men would have. They had been there, knew what had gone on. They knew that for a good year few had done any work, that instead (while Newbrough was doing carpenter work finishing Fraternum and Howland was cooking for them, as well as buying all food for them) they had milled around, gossiping not only about the leaders, but about each other, and this suit brought everything to a climax. Those involved had already left Shalam, their sympathizers could hardly stay. Newbrough called the remaining ones together and gave his ultimatum. He and his wife were soon going to New Orleans, he told them, to gather as many infants as

possible. In due time they would return, bringing these babes. All who wanted to stay and help with these babies would be welcome. Those unwilling to help must move on. Now. All of them left, all except the leaders and a man named Grill. So we see it was not "disillusionment" which caused the exodus. It was a plain case of—work or get out!

Newbrough and Howland now determined that never again would they leave themselves open to another such attack. The land, buildings and all to be built or placed thereon, were deeded to "The Children of Shalam." Howland was made trustee. Each man kept his own money and outside investments in his own name. They agreed that hereafter every person who worked in Shalam was to be paid at the prevailing wage rate for his labor. As those who came were in every case unskilled, and the pay at that time for this was $1.00 per day, they were to be paid this, if and when they worked. In addition they were to receive room, board, heat in room, washing and ironing. Women were to be paid the same as men. Newbrough and Howland had to take these steps to protect themselves, the colony and the children they planned to get, from any future attempts at hijacking. Whether this was why some colonists later bitterly resented the wage provisions, I can't say. They charged that Newbrough and Howland had changed the colony into a private business venture. Maybe this was true, but if the founders had been hijacked into paying some designing or disgruntled colonists thousands of dollars, these critics would not have been liable for one dime of it!

The real fault in the way Newbrough and Howland managed the colony was that they were not business-like. They were too easy-going. Working was on a purely voluntary basis! We all know that in any group in the world, there are always some who shirk and a few who do everything. Shalam was no exception. If Newbrough and Howland had done as any man does who owns a store or factory —interview the applicant, outline the work, state the wages, and if he accepts, assign him to his special task and put him to work, I am convinced that few, perhaps none, of the scandals and falsehoods that have been circulated for years

would have been told. Outsiders who came there, and were hired on this basis, liked and respected all of the leaders. None of them, to my knowledge, went away to spread malicious, false tales about them. I can say this: except for yellow journal reporters, all of the tales about Shalam related to certain colonists. And, in a way, this was Newbrough's and Howland's fault. They left work to the colonist's own conscience. They never pointed to a task and said, "go, do that," or "come and help here." Result? The colonists loafed around for a year or so, had a nice warm room, which cost them nothing, were assured regular meals, also gratis. Then when Newbrough or Howland thought that they had had ample time to prove themselves, and had failed to qualify, they would point out to them that they hadn't so far helped with the work, and unless they would help from now on, they would have to ask them to leave. Possibly "hell hath no fury like a woman scorned", but the wrath of the moucher pried loose from "bed and board" can come awfully close! What convinces me I am right in believing that the hate, venom, lies directed at these founders came originally from people frustrated in their attempt to live without working is that the two periods when there were no colonists are the only ones devoid of malicious tales. Take the Keleher article for example. The malicious venom of this article, the law suit, relate specifically to the period in Shalam dating 1884-86. She even mentions the names of people there during this time, and fails to mention the names of people there in any other period! When she tries to tell about Shalam at a later date, she becomes utterly preposterous! Take this sentence for a sample. It is really one of the most amazing things I ever read:

> By 1900, however, Newbrough began to show signs of hurdling such bulwarks against authoritarian power, and his ambitious plans for installing himself as the eventual owner and ruler of a 1400 acre kingdom on the Rio Grande became apparent to such colonists as Bowman and Tanner who had put money into the common fund. (p. 131, N.M.H.R., April 1944)

One of the things which makes this such an astonishing statement is the fact that John B. Newbrough died April 22, 1891! Add to this the fact that Bowman and Tanner left Shalam in 1886,—that Bowman was one of the sympathizers, if not plaintiffs in the $10,000 suit, which the plaintiffs had long since lost, and we see that this sentence really gains momentum as it hurls itself into the depths of asininity! *1900* was the year that Howland's money was gone, and the colony disbanded!

I can't resist adding an aside here regarding "money" that Tanner and Bowman had put "into the common fund." Bowman had a large family of children (which had been supported in Shalam for two years) and when he came to the gathering place in New York, he was so broke, his children so poorly clad, that Newbrough had given my mother some money to go and buy a new outfit of clothing for each child! Tanner was a nice old man whom everybody loved. But when he came to Shalam, he had long since spent his last dime. He had been a country doctor when he undertook his famous fast, and while this brought him nation-wide attention, it reacted badly on his practice. People began to regard him as an infidel and to consider that his forty-day fast was blasphemous. His former patients shunned him, and he had been penniless a long time when he came to Shalam.

> Five years after its inception The Land of Shalam was apparently prospering as an agrarian one. Two hundred acres of the nine hundred original ones were under cultivation, and five hundred additional acres had been acquired through donations and contributions by applicants. Newbrough was an amazing combination of the fanatic and the realist. That he was 'no idle dreamer of an idle lay' is attested to by the fact that in order to provide irrigation independently of ditches, he acquired two steam engines, one six horse-power, and one fifty horse-power, which raised from the Rio Grande about one million gallons of water an hour. The subsequent construction of the Elephant Butte Dam in Sierra County at a cost of seven million dollars, is ample proof that the Bostonian

> was a man of judgment, visualizing the possibilities of irrigation in a desert country. (*ibid.*, p. 128)

Practically every assertion in this paragraph is false. During that first two years they were in Shalam, Newbrough did get a small engine (I suppose that was the six horse-power engine mentioned) and thought he could pump water out of the river. Anyone who knows the Rio Grande as it flows through the Mesilla Valley, knows that the soil along its banks is sandy,—quick-sand when wet. The little engine Newbrough got promptly sank into this quick-sand and was lost—that is, was of no further use. And that ended all attempts to pump water directly from the Rio Grande. Any engineer would know that Miss Keleher's assertion that "a million gallons of water" an hour was raised thus from the Rio Grande would have been an impossible feat. He would also know that no two little engines, one 6 h.p., one 50 h.p., could pump a million gallons an hour. Any old-timer would know that except at flood-time, there were not a million gallons of water in the Rio Grande all told! Months of the year it was bone-dry!

In this paragraph, Miss Keleher persists in her assertion that the original tract consisted of 900 acres and states that 500 acres were added through "donations" of applicants. Thus she claims 1400 acres for Shalam. All of this is false. As stated, and I repeat, the original tract consisted of 1200 acres, and Newbrough bought every acre of it with his own money. NO LAND WAS EVER DONATED TO SHALAM. Subsequently, the river on one of its rampages took away hundreds of acres, as well as through these years there was natural erosion so that when Shalam was sold in 1907 it had but 900 acres. It would seem that somehow Miss Keleher got hold of the figure of 900 acres, and not knowing one thing about Shalam, its history or its founders, got all mixed and transferred the 900 acres to the beginning of Shalam when really the 900 acres belong to the end of the story! In this paragraph she begins by stating that "five years after its inception The Land of Shalam was apparently prospering as an agrarian one", and says two

hundred acres were in cultivation. She is somewhat ambiguous here for after saying two hundred acres were in cultivation, in the same sentence she goes on to say "and five hundred additional acres had been acquired", etc. A careless reader might easily think that there were seven hundred acres in cultivation. It really does not matter for "five years after its inception", or 1889, not an acre was in cultivation! They didn't even have a little kitchen garden. Except for where the few houses stood, no land had been cleared! Later on, I will give a list of the improvements that had been made up to Newbrough's death in 1891. It was Howland, not Newbrough, who had the land cleared, the irrigation system put in and the large fields of alfalfa, orchards and vineyards put in. All this was done during the 1890s after Newbrough's death.

Following this paragraph of misinformation and wild statements, she begins the next with "Andrew Howland's dreams for orphans materialized." It was Newbrough who conceived the idea of founding the colony, it was his dream to gather homeless infants, and when Howland came to Shalam a year after it began, he joined whole-heartedly in all the plans laid down in *Oahspe* for this colony—which first, last and foremost was for the children. Shalam was never, nor was it ever intended to be, a co-operative colony. It was never intended to be a colony-refuge for adults. On page 133, speaking of Howland after the colony had come to an end, Miss Keleher says that Howland saw "the people whom he had sincerely wanted to help, shadows of his dreams." Rhetorical and sophomoric! But quite inaccurate. Of course, Howland had "sincerely" wanted to help people, he had helped practically everyone who had come to Shalam, and there was no one who kept him from these "sincere" efforts, or from being sincere. I can assure Miss Keleher that many of the adults he helped were much more like nightmares than shadowy dreams to him! I can assure any and all that the maudlin sympathy, the crocodile tears shed over Andrew M. Howland for his magnificent contribution to Shalam, and the orphans he raised, are wasted and completely inappropriate.

In another paragraph, p. 133, Miss Keleher has Newbrough discouraged, making his exit from Shalam and dying in El Paso. She leaves this interesting bit of misinformation dateless. Here are the facts of Newbrough's last year of life. Time and place, 1890, Shalam. He and Howland had decided to build the brick house for the children,—babies they were at the time. Together Newbrough and his wife, my mother, had brought thirteen babies from New Orleans during 1888-9. They had converted the library in Fraternum into a nursery, but it was totally unsuited for this as it was at the opposite end of the long building from the kitchen, and except for the kitchen sink, Fraternum, at this time, had no plumbing. The new house was to be constructed so as to make the care of the babies as easy as possible, and it was to have plumbing. Instead of being "discouraged", Newbrough had perhaps never been happier in his life. The brick house was his dream house—a house built just especially for babes and children. Besides this, he and Howland had completed the proof-reading of *Oahspe,* and Howland was to go to Boston to get out the second edition. In the spring of 1891, Newbrough planned to make a trip throughout the east to lecture in the hopes that now at last with all these children, he would find the right kind of people who would come and help with the work of raising them—which was what Shalam was for! In the late summer of 1890, Newbrough, my mother and all the babies moved into the brick house. Howland went to Boston to get out the second edition of *Oahspe,* and this left two men—colonists in Fraternum. They did not work—never had, but one of them had been loyal to Newbrough throughout the trouble that first crowd had made, so Newbrough let him stay. We were, for the time being, free of all impedimenta in human form. We had a mechanic and his wife, who lived on the place. He ran the engine which supplied the brick house with water. My mother had one Mexican woman to help with the babies. That's all there were of us at this time and through that April of 1891. That winter a flu epidemic (they called it "la grippe" then) struck the eastern coast of the United States and swept across the entire

country. It was a very virulent type of flu. It struck Shalam in April. Newbrough felt ill first, but the next day while he was still up and around, all of us—every one of the children, then about three and four years old, my mother and I became sick. We never knew how sick the children were for my mother and I became delirious at once, and by the time she was recovered enough to know, Newbrough was too sick to tell. There he was—ten small children (three had previously died) all sick, I, his seven year old, and his wife. John Tesson came to see Newbrough about something and discovered our plight. He and his wife promptly got Newbrough to bed, sent for the doctor and a practical nurse, and then they came in and took over. What angels of mercy those two people were! All of us got better—all except Newbrough. The work of nursing twelve very sick patients when he himself was so sick had been too much. Pneumonia set in. On April 22, 1891, John Newbrough died. Howland came on from Boston, and in the room in Fraternum we called our parlor, he read the Faithist burial services for his friend. The Masons in Las Cruces had asked permission to conduct Masonic rites which they did following the Faithist services, both in the parlor and at the grave. Newbrough was buried in Shalam, the place he loved so much. When we sold Shalam in 1907, I myself had his remains moved to the Masonic cemetery in Las Cruces.

In the second to last paragraph on page 133 of this article, Keleher says: "Howland, always a follower, never a leader, saw the buildings which his money had made possible fall into ruin . . ." Howland never saw the buildings in Shalam fall into ruins! He did see much of Levitica washed away by a river flood, but as long as we lived in Shalam, and when we sold and left, every house in Shalam was in perfect repair. The people we sold to put in sharecroppers, Mexicans, and I don't know how many kinds of people in those buildings, and they did wreck the place. Howland never went back. He never saw the wreck.

I note this in the foregoing paragraph: "the buildings his money had made possible." She should know! However she is hard to follow because in the second paragraph above

this statement, she tells us how the colonists felt when the court ruled that Ellis should not get $10,000 "as his fair share." She said: "the decision handed down by this court disillusioned those sincerely caught up in a fog of religious fanaticism, or those who were interested in tracing a new pattern of social and economic life." And on page 131 she tells us that Bowman and Tanner had "put money into the common fund." It would almost seem that Miss Keleher was a mental contortionist! As to Howland "always a follower, never a leader," if we look at results, I think we shall see that Miss Keleher was just about as wrong in that statement as she was in all of her other statements.

Before we look at the record, I want to quote a quotation Miss Keleher used from George Baker Anderson, who wrote: "Andrew M. Howland, the chief sufferer through the duplicity of Newbrough, and his wife still reside upon the property . . ." (p. 133, *ibid.*)

Let's keep these things in mind,—"always a follower, never a leader," that Howland was the "chief sufferer" and also about Newbrough's duplicity. We've got that lovely old hobby-horse all decked out in a new coat of paint, and we must never lose it. We have reached Shalam in April 1891. Newbrough is dead, so let's see just how Howland had been "a sufferer" through the "duplicity" of Newbrough. Howland had lived in Shalam six years. He had built the brick house for the children and their caretakers (and he lived in this house himself for years), he had put in cesspools and built a brick studio for Newbrough. Total cost about $20,000. He had helped to feed better than a hundred indigent colonists, and he had cooked for about three years. It was a splendid contribution, and I am not belittling it, but when we consider what he did in the next nine years, we can see "this chief sufferer" of Newbrough's "duplicity"—this man who was "always a follower, never a leader" was not at all as he has been painted—a duped follower, but had a mind of his own, and the will to build as he saw fit.

While Newbrough was alive, Howland did not spend over $20,000 with possibly a couple of thousand for food, etc. After Newbrough died, that is, after April 22, 1891,

and up to 1900, Howland spent somewhere between $300,-000, and $350,000 in building Shalam! Seeing that Newbrough was dead, we can hardly say that it was his duplicity which caused Howland to spend this!

Here's what Shalam had that April when Newbrough died: Fraternum, the brick house, a shop (in which was the engine to pump water for household) studio, three original houses, now improved, one adobe building used for temple, a small shed for four horses (no other livestock), one wagon. Not one acre in cultivation. We didn't even have the tiniest vegetable garden for two good reasons,—the many small babies took most of the time and effort, and we had no water supply other than just enough to give us household water. None of this stood in Newbrough's name. When Shalam ended in 1900 because all of Howland's money was gone, the entire property, including all that Newbrough had put in it (he bought the land, you remember) reverted to Howland. No one ever questioned the rightness of this. Not even the gossips!

When Newbrough died, Shalam was reached by a winding wagon road that led through dense tornilla, mesquite, over and around sandhills. After Howland cleared this land, the road was a broad, straight lane edged on either side with fruit trees. There was a dense growth of one kind or another even on the sandhills. Howland cleared the entire tract except a deep edging along the river. He kept this and we got our firewood from here as long as we lived in Shalam. Having cleared the land, he tore down the immense sandhills and made hundreds of acres as level as a living room floor. Perhaps some may wonder, or have wondered, how Howland spent so much on Shalam. Right here is part of the answer. Clear five acres of tornilla, mesquite and level down some sandhills, and it will give you reason to understand. Also in the 1890s, there were none of the modern farm implements which replace man-power and do in one hour what it would take a man days to do. Shalam was cleared by Mexicans with scrapers, plows, axes, shovels and hoes. Then Howland put in orchards: pears, apples, peaches, apricots, plums and prunes. 30 acres were planted

to vineyards—every kind of grape grown in California. Our own house vegetable garden and a truck garden were planted. Howland said that the irrigation system alone cost him $30,000. It was probably the largest and best privately installed irrigation system ever put in by anyone. In addition to all this, there were the dairy and chicken plants. The dairy was stocked with registered Guernsey stock from Gov. Morton's farm in New York, and Hoard's Dairy in Wisconsin. The chicken plant had a thousand hens—all pure-bred. When you picture all these things, and then look over what Shalam was when Newbrough died in 1891, you wonder where anybody got the nerve to say Howland was "always the follower, never the leader", or that he was the "chief sufferer" of anybody's duplicity, or, considering that Newbrough had been dead while all this was taking place, it is a little hard to see how Newbrough was to blame—if blame there was. Besides all this, there was Levitica, built by Howland, later destroyed by flood.

Miss Keleher quotes from the *Evening Citizen*, July 18, 1890. It is impossible for me to believe that she has given the date of this quotation correctly for the improvements listed were not in existence in 1890. They were put in and added beginning in the summer of 1891, after Newbrough's death, and were not in the complete state as they appear in this list until *after* 1894-97. (See Keleher's article, p. 130.) What is spoken of as "Howland's residence" was not his personal residence (he never had one in Shalam), as the article infers, it was Fraternum, the building which housed us all at various times, and where always the colonists lived—except the few who lived in Levitica. The dairy mentioned was not put in until 1897.

On page 129, Miss Keleher describes the little country store Howland had built in this grandiose language:

> One of the most significant accomplishments of these two commonwealth builders, from the viewpoint of those interested in the historical structure of Utopias, was the erection of a coöperative store with its various compartments separated by glass partitions. A department store in Mesilla Valley in this period must have been

> enough to make even the most lukewarm crackpots join up with the Faithists just for the opportunity of buying a package of Arbuckle's coffee.

Let's get our historical structure of Utopia straight first of all by saying that the store wasn't put in until two or three years after Newbrough's death, so it could not have been "a significant accomplishment of these two commonwealth builders." Secondly, it was not a coöperative store. Shalam was not a coöperative venture. Next, all the stores in Las Cruces were better and bigger than the little, unpretentious country store Howland ran for the benefit of the Mexican day laborers who worked in Shalam. He put the store in because when he was clearing the land, putting it in cultivation, building the irrigation system, etc., he was employing from 100 to 150 Mexican men six days per week. There were two store-keepers in Doña Ana (where all the Mexicans came from), and these men, seeing this fine pay roll where before there had been none, put on their own private inflation scheme. It ended with the Mexicans paying these store-keepers all their wages for the bare necessities of life, and even going in debt for these. Howland felt it was an outrage, so he built a one-room store with warehouse. He hired one clerk. Saturday afternoons, my mother and one of the children's teachers helped out. This store was a sort of Lum and Abner country store carrying calico, gingham, muslin, thread, overalls, shirts, work shoes, etc. and groceries. Goods were sold on a cost basis. Cost of goods, freight, clerk hire. Howland never considered it any part of the Shalam plan. It was put in to save the Mexicans who worked there from being exploited as they had been. In order to keep anyone except employees from buying there, Howland sold his men coupon books, and only these coupons were good for trade at the store.

In this paragraph quoted, we find Miss Keleher calling the colonists "crackpots", yet in another page or two we find her shedding crocodile tears when people she has already branded as "crackpots" fail to collect $10,000 as their share of buildings which in another place she says Howland's money built! What interests me is: why should

the colonists want to *buy*—even surrounded by elegance!—Arbuckle's coffee when they had all the Chase and Sanborn's coffee they wanted served them free and already made in the colony?

During the nine years (1891-1900) that Andrew Howland was building Shalam, people continued to drift in and out of Shalam just about as they had during Newbrough's lifetime. Immediately following Newbrough's death, there had been a big influx of people. Howland pursued the same course he and Newbrough had agreed upon: if they would work, he paid them and put them to work. When they proved by continued idleness that they were only seeking a way to live without working, he got rid of them. From the arrival of the babies in 1887 until 1900, I think I am fair in saying that not more than eight people came who were willing to and did work. Besides these, there were several men, superior to the average ones who came, scholarly, intelligent men of some means who, when they found they were unfitted for the work that was to be done;—day labor, gardening, care of infants and children, left, not in a surly, disgruntled way, but in a friendly, cordial, gracious way.

I have answered only a few of the misstatements made by Miss Keleher. Her entire article is malicious slander and a complete distortion of fact. Nowhere in the article, however, does she sink quite so low as when with cheap would-be wit and sly innuendo she attempts to portray my mother to whom she gives the fictitious name of "Mrs. Sweet". (Perhaps she had a libel suit in mind.) My mother was twenty when she married my father, Dr. Newbrough. She was born, brought up in, and had never been outside of, New York City and immediate areas. She had been a kindergarten teacher. She never saw California until 1894 when, after she was married to my step-father, Andrew Howland. she made a short visit to relatives. She never knew, much less was married to the head of some California cult. This man, mentioned by Miss Keleher in her article, is a purely fictitious character.

To give a proper understanding of my mother and her immense contribution to Shalam, I must be personal. When

I was born, she had Bright's Disease. We both nearly died. The complications which followed left her with a bad heart condition which lasted until I was two. Besides this, it left her with a dropsical condition of the feet and legs. Until I was nine years old, every afternoon one foot was so swollen that she had to wear on that foot a shoe that was two sizes larger than the other shoe. She was 5:4 tall, weighed about 115 pounds until 1900 after which she put on weight. Despite these physical handicaps, when I was three years old, she went to New Orleans with my father, Dr. Newbrough, and they gathered together ten babies, most of them new born. The house they lived in was a large two-story frame—real Southern style house. For help in caring for ten babies and one three year old (myself), she had one colored maid and my father. Being of Holland Dutch descent, she could not stand one speck of dirt and the house and babies were kept immaculate. Besides this, she sewed; made clothes for the babies, hemmed diapers, etc. When one considers that one baby takes three dozen diapers, it does not take imagination to see that between sewing, taking care of babies, housework, my mother worked hard. As any mother knows, baby work isn't something you do for eight hours and then go and rest. It is a twenty-four hour job. My mother took care of babies and small children from 1887 until 1900. After a year in New Orleans, yellow fever broke out and Newbrough sent us all back to Shalam. My mother made the trip alone with us. Arriving in Shalam, she converted the library in Fraternum into a nursery as it was the only room large enough. The distance from the library to the kitchen, at opposite ends of the building from each other, would probably have measured a short city block —about twenty-two rooms between. There was no plumbing in Shalam at this time. All baby feedings had to be prepared in the kitchen and carried from there to the nursery. All bath-water for bathing the infants had to be lugged in pails the same distance. Each baby nevertheless received its daily bath. My mother with the aid of one Mexican woman brought all these feedings, hauled all this bath water from end to end of this long building—for two

and a half years! And while she hauled water, bent over and bathed ten babies, lifted and carried them, kept them clean and dry, the colony women who were enjoying free room and board, played games, rested, read, loafed and—of course, gossiped. Two women did come who worked shoulder to shoulder with my mother. Each stayed about one year. They left because they were discouraged with the colony loafers.

Newbrough brought three more babies on from New Orleans when he came. That summer cholera infantum broke out, many were sick. Three died. After Newbrough died, Howland went to Kansas City and got nine more babies, and the next year my mother went to Chicago and got six two-year olds. All of these children were in Shalam by 1897, and remained until 1900. During this time my mother had two women to help her take care of all these babies and small children. When in 1899, the money was running low and they had to let the children's teacher go, my mother became teacher. In addition to all this, she took over the chicken plant with the help of one Mexican youth. As we know, both babies and chickens get you up by five, so for all these years, my mother began her day at this hour, worked all day and was never certain of an unbroken night's rest. In fact, through the years, she did all the night work for the babies. She built fires. She brought in wood. She lugged out ashes. She cooked, invented vegetarian dishes, hemmed sheets, table cloths, napkins, made and mended clothes, darned stockings, took care of the sick, played games and read to us children, canned and preserved fruit, made jams, jellies, chow-chow and the like. I might sum up her work by saying she was the mother of a big family. Howland tried to get all the help he could, but such a big place, so many children, so much to do meant a lot of heavy, hard work for her. She was glad and eager to do it. I can never remember seeing her sit idle. Even after we had left Shalam and she had grown old, when she visited with anyone, she would sit and knit or crochet. As we grew older in Shalam, evenings she and Howland would play

games with us, or my mother would read aloud, or we would read or talk and she would mend.

It was the Christmases she gave us children which were the big event in Shalam. (How strangely silent the scandal-mongers and gossips have been about these!) A pine tree from the mountains across the river, so tall it reached the ceiling, was put in the brick house dining room. Then for some three weeks we were barred from this room. Every spare moment my mother could steal from her duties, she would shut herself in here. Every evening, often till twelve o'clock, she worked here. If there were "made" tree decorations then, we didn't have them. She made them. They were simple, perhaps crude, but we thought them beautiful. With the decorations went candles—dozens of them all over the tree. And popcorn. She used to pop quantities, string it and hang it in festoons over the tree. Besides making the decorations and fixing them on the tree, there were dolls' clothes to be made, little sheets for dolls' beds—lots and lots of work, but how she loved it! When the great day arrived, she and Howland would open the big double doors, and we saw what seemed to us a real fairyland! It was practically a toyshop. Wagons, tricycles, hobby-horses, shoe-flies for tiny tots, drums, balls, horns, dolls and their furniture—nothing was lacking, and each child was bountifully supplied with presents and toys. We would scatter and play with our new toys—play there inside the "big room" (30 by 90 feet) for it was cold outside, and such a bedlam of noise we made. She and Howland would sit there side by side, and beam and beam on us.

Success did not come to them in the way they wanted it, but people who had memories like this; who had lived unselfishly for little children; who raised one boy to become a fine man and three girls to become fine, splendid women —besides all those they had brought from babyhood to be ten and twelve years old; who watched and saw what fine people these children grew to be; who were loved by these children as though own parents — can never be called failures.

Perhaps the best part is that their work goes on after

them. The boy they raised to manhood fought for his country in the last war. My mother worked hard to save his life when he was a baby! Today all the sons of all the girls they raised are serving their country in many parts of the world. There is not a slacker or a conscientious objector among them! One is a major, another has the Purple Heart, one is a lieutenant in the air corps, one a lieutenant in the navy. One has had the job of flying above our ground troops and strafing the Germans in front of them. Undoubtedly it helped to save the lives of many American boys. The navy lieutenant for months patrolled our Atlantic shores for submarines, and later helped land our troops in Normandy on D day. There they are, these fine boys! Infantry, air corps, navy, all over the world, serving Uncle Sam. Newbrough's and my mother's blood is there, too, for one of my sons is in the air corps and the other is a paratrooper.

When it is remembered that the aim of Shalam was to take homeless babies, give them a home, a father's and mother's love and care, to raise them to be upright citizens, it seems to me that no one can say that Shalam was a failure. It seems to me that no one can say that such unselfish, noble people whose whole lives were dedicated to caring for little children, were failures.

The people who worked for them, the people of Las Cruces who knew them, loved, admired and respected them. All three of them were held in the highest esteem by those who really knew them. It was only strangers and disgruntled colonists who criticized them.

# HISTORY OF THE ALBUQUERQUE INDIAN SCHOOL

*By* LILLIE G. MCKINNEY

*(Concluded)*

## CHAPTER VI

### FRUITION OF THE PERRY ADMINISTRATION (1922-1933)

IN 1922 the much needed sewerage system was constructed costing $1500.[1] It connected with the city system on Twelfth Street, was shorter, and had a greater fall than the old sewer. An addition was built to the shops building to provide space for a farm laboratory and an auto-mechanics shop. A silo of 120 tons capacity was constructed of tile.[2] Mr. Perry was not satisfied with this much accomplished and recommended for the next fiscal year a central heating plant and two dormitories in order to care for 800 or 1000 pupils.[3]

Principal Fred M. Lobdell was transferred in 1922 to Haskell Institute. This was a fortunate transfer [4] since the person best fitted for this position, Mrs. Harrington, was promoted to the vacancy. This new position made it possible for her to carry out many practical plans already formulated by her as a class-room teacher.[5]

Mr. Perry felt that visits from the following administrative officers during the fiscal year, 1921-22, would result in great benefit to the institution: Charles H. Burke, commissioner of Indian affairs; H. B. Peairs, chief supervisor of education; L. A. Dorrington, inspector; John W. Atwater, inspector; Fred C. Morgan, special supervisor; William A. Marschalk, chief of land division; Dr. R. E. Newberne, chief medical supervisor; and Mr. Vincent Mc-

1. *Narrative Report,* p. 7, (1922).
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Personal interview with Mr. Reuben Perry, June 4, 1934.
5. See Appendix No. 2.

Mullen, private secretary to the commissioner of Indian affairs.[6]

Mr. Perry's disappointment over the burning of the auditorium was offset by the erection of a new structure in 1923. "Dedication of the fine new auditorium was the principal event at the Albuquerque school last month. Mr. Towers, Commissioner Burke's private secretary, was one of the speakers." [7] It was a fine brick structure, larger and better planned than the one destroyed by fire, costing $42,500; but since the concrete work, carpentry, plumbing, heating, and painting were done by the school boys as well as delivering all of the materials for the building, the structure was conservatively valued at $100,000. Curtains costing $2,000 and opera chairs (950) costing $3,800 were paid for out of the appropriation.[8] A cement paint house (twenty feet by forty feet) was erected by pupil labor and cost $474.40, and a two-story brick bathhouse (twenty-four by sixty feet) was connected with the girls dormitory for $908.52.[9]

There were thirty-one graduates from the tenth grade in 1923.[10] A large number of these graduates planned to enter Haskell Institute and enroll for a two years business course, or in those courses offering preparatory work for teachers, or completion of high school.[11] The idea of higher education and of better training in industrial work had spread among the graduates to such an extent that they were anxious to continue in school.

The school was crowded at the beginning of the fiscal year, 1923-1924, for the enrollment had reached 654; [12] but by the middle of the year, two sleeping porches were erected (one to the girls' building, the other to the boys' building) with forty rooms.[13] By spring a second addition was made to the girls' sleeping porch. This furnished quarters for

6. *Narrative Report*, p. 13, (1922).
7. *Indian Leader*, XXVII, No. 8, p. 3, November 16, 1923.
8. *Narrative Report*, p. 6, (1923).
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 10. Unable to find names of graduates.
11. Personal interview with Mrs. Isis L. Harrington, May 14, 1934.
12. *Narrative Report*, p. 2, (1924).
13. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

ninety-five more girls and provided sixteen additional study rooms at a cost of $12,022.08, also, four double-sized classrooms were added to the school building. This brought the capacity to 750.[14] The school plant at this time consisted of forty-four good buildings, and was inspected by Hubert H. Work, secretary of the interior, Charles H. Burke, commissioner of Indian affairs, and Dr. McMullen, public health service.[15]

In 1924, forty-three graduated from the tenth grade.[16] The class presented a dramatization of Hiawatha written by Mrs. Harrington to an audience of about 1000 people from the city of Albuquerque.[17] This class (about one-half the number) continued either their literary or industrial training.[18]

The graduating class of 1924 under the direction of Mrs. Harrington organized thirteen library societies in the pueblos and on the reservations. They were ably assisted by Margaret Mosely Williams who helped in gathering together between 500 and 600 volumes. Harold Bell Wright sent a set of the *Appleton Encyclopedia* and a copy of each of his books. The graduates arranged for these books to be placed in convenient homes (not connected with the government school in any way). This class hoped to make these libraries the actual beginning of municipal libraries run by themselves. About three of these libraries persisted. One is now in the home of Frank Catron,[19] a Navaho, at Tohatchi; and Indians of that community are encouraged to read in his home. Another is in the home of a graduate at San Felipe, and a third is at Isleta.[20] Even though only three of the thirteen societies continued to function the results were worth the effort since many ex-students made use of the books and since community projects were really begun

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

16. *Ibid.* Of the graduates there were ten Navahos, two Zuñis, two Apaches, and twenty-nine Pueblos.

17. See appendix p. 132 of typed thesis; also, *Narrative Report*, p. 10, 1920.

18. Personal interview with Mrs. Isis Harrington, May 14, 1934.

19. Frank Catron built for himself a three-room house with library case on one wall to hold the books.

20. Personal interview with Mrs. Isis L. Harrington, May 17, 1934.

(even if only library societies) that helped to bring those living in the community closer together.

A private library was established in the home of Mr. Porfirio Montoya, lieutenant governor at Santa Ana. For two years he borrowed books from the school, and each time returned [21] them faithfully. Finally, Mrs. Harrington persuaded friends to help him acquire his own library.[22]

Three important features were added to the school during the fiscal year, 1924-1925. First, a trachoma clinic was held in November by a special physician, J. S. Perkins, and the various operations sponsored by Doctor L. Webster Fox of Philadelphia.[23] Second, Supervisor Edna Groves reorganized the home economics department, and placed two graduates of Stout Institute in the department.[24] And, third, the commissioner of Indian affairs authorized the addition of the eleventh and twelfth grades, making a full four-year high school course.[25]

Mr. Perry and Mrs. Harrington were anxious to put into the school, under native teachers, weaving for Navaho girls and pottery making for Pueblo girls, a desire that came from a study of trades that might have a monetary value to Indain girls of the Southwest. The training they were receiving was for domestics in homes, for nurses, or for assistant matrons. The girls needed some training that would enable them to earn money at home.[26] Mr. Perry took the matter up with the Indian office early in 1924, but was unable to secure funds. Next, he wrote the management of the Junior Red Cross, and was successful in securing $900 a year to pay a Navaho woman to teach blanket weaving. By 1925 fourteen looms were installed and the course has grown more and more popular for Navaho girls

---

21. Personal interview with Miss Hazel Holsenbeck (teacher in the Indian School) May 20, 1934. Mr. Montoya always returned the borrowed books in the same bright cretonne bag (carefully arranged) having a draw string at the top. He preferred geography and history books to all others.

22. Personal interview with Mrs. Isis L. Harrington, May 17, 1934.

23. *Narrative Report*, p. 4, (1925).

24. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 9. Hence no class graduated in 1925. Cf. appendix, p. 133, of typed thesis.

26. Personal interview with Mrs. Isis L. Harrington, May 17, 1934.

through the years. Shortly after the establishment of the weaving department funds were made available through the same source to pay the salary of a Pueblo woman to instruct Pueblo girls in the making of pottery.[27] This course, too, has become very practical for Pueblo girls. Today the government pays the salaries of these two native instructors, through Commissioner C. J. Rhoades. The Indian office was more friendly toward the native crafts, for in 1931-1932 wood carving, cabinet making and Indian art were added; the next year silversmithing.[28] Under the present commissioner of Indian affairs, John Collier, native crafts hold a high place in the curriculum. This department has won many prizes annually at the Gallup Ceremonial.

Calendars had been published annually for several years pertaining to the history, activities, and curriculum of the school. They were interesting but brief. The fiscal year, 1926-1927, saw the first annual, *The Pow-Wow,* edited by the class of 1927.[29] This class numbered twenty-five (twelve girls and thirteen boys), and was the first class to have the boys in the majority; it also organized the first Honor Society, and was the first class to wear the academic caps and gowns.[30] This annual was dedicated to the Hon. Charles H. Burke, commissioner of Indian affairs, "in recognition of his untiring efforts to promote the progress of the Indian race." The last *Pow-Wow* was published in 1932.[31]

There were thirty-two members in the graduating class of 1928.[32] They gave the operetta, "Feast of the Red Corn," and many people from the city attended and seemed to enjoy the production.[33] Also, as a memorial they gave the "electric signal system" installed in the academic building by the senior boys under the direction of their instructor, Mr. Walter Martin.[34]

---

27. *Narrative Report,* p. 16, (1926).
28. *Ibid.* Also, personal interview with Mrs. Isis L. Harrington, May 17, 1934.
29. See appendix, p. 133 of typed thesis.
30. See appendix, p. 134 of typed thesis.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, p. 142 of typed thesis.
33. Personal interview with Mrs. Isis L. Harrington, May 17, 1934.
34. *The Pow-Wow,* p. 52, (1928).

According to *The Pow-Wow,* 1928, the Indians won the state championship in basketball, and represented New Mexico at the national meet in Chicago. Mr. Perry accompanied the Indian team. A quotation in *The Pow-Wow* from the *Armour Oval,* Chicago, Ill., April 12, 1928 stated

> For picturesqueness and gameness honors should go to the U. S. Indian School from Albuquerque, New Mexico. This team, although eliminated early in the series, gave a demonstration of form which won for them the state high school championship of New Mexico.[35]

Because the word "guardhouse" was obnoxious to a few sentimentalists who were not correctly informed regarding the punishment of disobedient pupils in the Indian schools,[36] enough public opinion was aroused against its use to cause the Indian office to abolish it. As a result discipline became lax and disorder and desertions increased greatly. During the fiscal year, 1928-1929, fifty-one boys deserted.[37] Mr. Perry wrote the commissioner of Indian affairs:

> It is a sad commentary to have to state that more of our pupils have been in the city and county jails during the last twenty months than had been in the school guardhouse for a number of years.[38]

Mr. Perry turned to the tribal meetings for assistance. Their officers agreed that in case members of their tribe were guilty of misconduct or disobedience such members were required to answer for their conduct, and if they promised to reform the leaders would watch over them in a way and encourage their improvement. Tribal meetings resulted in great good to the school. The next method of discipline was used by the disciplinarian and matrons through an organization of the boys' and girls' battalion.

35. *Ibid.,* p. 38.

36. Personal interview with Mrs. Isis L. Harrington, May 17, 1934, and with Mr. Reuben Perry on May 19, 1934. Such a writer was Vera Connolly, "The Cry of a Broken People", *Good Housekeeping,* February 1929.

37. *Narrative Report,* 12, (1929).

38. *Ibid.*

Once each month officers of these groups met and discussed subjects influencing discipline. Results were fair.[39]

Vera L. Connolly's article "The Cry of a Broken People" in *Good Housekeeping* (February, 1929) aroused so many unfavorable comments regarding ill treatment of Indian children in government boarding schools that Senator Sam Bratton secured the consent of the Indian office to permit him to select a committee of citizens of Albuquerque to investigate charges made against the local Indian school.[40] Senator Bratton had faith in the management of the Albuquerque Indian school and wished to have its good name cleared of all charges of inhumane treatment of the children brought against it by Miss Connolly.[41] He spoke of this article as "ill-considered and fallacious criticism, which I think rests largely upon imagination." [42]

The committee held meetings on six different days. It questioned eleven employees, including the superintendent, four persons not employed, and twenty-seven pupils.

The investigation was general but the following points were stressed: first, food, to see if the children really went hungry; second, clothing, to see if pupils had enough clothing for comfort; third, punishment, to see if punishment inflicted upon the pupils was cruel and given in an inhumane manner; and fourth, health, to see if pupils received adequate medical care.[43] The following places were

---

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Congressional Record*, 70 Cong., 2 sess., Sen. Doc. 5, pp. 4331-5258 (1929). The personnel of the committee consisted of: Clyde Tingley, mayor of Albuquerque, New Mexico, and chairman of the committee; Mrs. George Ruoff, president of New Mexico Federated Women's Club; J. R. Guild, post commander of the Hugh A. Carlisle Post, No. 13, of the American Legion; Dr. James R. Scott, county health officer of Bernalillo county; M. E. Hickey, former judge of the district court of Bernalillo county; and Mrs. Max Nordhaus, head of the child welfare association.

41. *Ibid.* The Santa Fe Indian School was investigated about the same time by an entirely different committee. This school, also, was acquitted of the charges brought by Miss Connolly.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 4372-3.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 4377. Regarding the first charge of insufficient food, the committee was convinced by statements from both employees and pupils "that no pupils ever need go from the dining room hungry—good food is there and may be had for the asking"; as to clothing, the pupils have enough clothing and bed clothing to keep them comfortable in all kinds of weather; as to punishment, the committee found that seven or eight boys were paddled on the naked flesh with the rubber sole of a hospital slipper (the committee believed that severe punishment should have been administered

visited: the hospital, the kitchen, the dining-room, the school building, the work shops, the dormitories, the laundry, and the native crafts department. The committee reported that they were found in good condition and well managed.[44] The committee stated that

> neither Mr. Perry nor any other employee than the stenographer was present at any of the hearings of the committee and no pupil or employee was required to make a statement in his presence.[45]

The committee, also, interviewed the governors, lieutenant governors, and interpreters of the pueblos of Laguna, Acoma, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, Jemez, Sandía, and Isleta. Twenty-three persons made statements to the committee. Outside of complaints of failure to build a bridge and a day school, nothing but praise was elicited from the representatives of the Pueblos concerning the school.[46]

Mrs. Harrington in "Lo, The Poor Taxpayer" answered Miss Connolly's article, "The Cry of a Broken People." She summed up her article by saying:

> At Indian schools there is as little discipline as possible. Government employees are much more charitable and lenient with Indian children than they are with whites. So are you.[47]

A student of the school, Huskie J. Burnside, wrote Senator Bratton defending the local Indian school.[48]

---

these boys, but did not approve the method used. No criticism came from the girls); and as to health, the committee was convinced that the health of the pupils was carefully guarded and that there was splendid and adequate supervision in the matter.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*, p. 4377. The committee brought in a verdict of "not guilty" to all the charges made by Miss Connolly.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 3479.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 3479. Letter of Huskie Burnside to Senator Bratton. "——We have all kinds of athlete equipment here in Albuquerque Indian School, such as basketball, baseball, football, boxing outfit, etc. All these equipment take charge by Mr. J. E. Jones, and also teach us how to use it. I think Albuquerque Indian School is the best school, better than any other Indian Service. I tell why, because Albuquerque Indian School they are build me to be a man, and they are the ones development my mind and how to act and how to be a gentleman, and how to be polite and etc.

"A. I. S. is the best school that's why I have been stay here eight years now."

As proof that health was being safeguarded the new hospital was finished and occupied early in the fiscal year, 1928-1929. The Indian patients who were suffering from trachoma, from the hospital in town, were transferred to this hospital. At the end of the fiscal year 123 trachoma patients were receiving treatment daily. Funds for building and furnishing this splendid structure came from the fund "Conservation of Health Among Indians, 1929" to the extent of $13,700, and from the fund "Indian Schools (Albuquerque, New Mexico) 1929", a total of $30,566.40.[49]

Regardless of criticisms from the outside, the school had grown in numbers enrolled and in an increased number of buildings. In 1929 there were 927 students enrolled,[50] and of this number 304 were in high school. As to tribes there were 407 Pueblos, 287 Navahos, seven Pápagos, forty-eight Zuñis, seven Utes, four Choctaws, three Sioux, three Creeks, two Mojaves, one Crow, one Modoc, one Sac and Fox, one Mission, one Chimehuevi, and one Osage.[51]

There were forty-three members in the graduating class of 1929.[52] The campus on which these graduates had lived was now a beautiful park covered with blue grass and shade trees dotted here and there by forty-eight excellent buildings.[53] Some of their special activities included parties, picnicking, week-end parties, a fashion show, officers party, football banquet (principally seniors), and junior-senior dance.[54]

The plans submitted by the Indian office, 1930, were well-received by the teachers of the school. Throughout the year teachers studied and worked to fit into the newer methods and ideas of progressive education. The exceptions were a few "of the new industrial instructors who were unable to adapt their public school experiences to boarding school conditions——" [55]

---

49. *Narrative Report,* p. 12, (1929).

50. *Pow-Wow,* p. 74, (1929).

51. *Ibid.,* p. 74.

52. See appendix, p. 147 of typed thesis.

53. *Narrative Report,* p. 6, (1929).

54. *Ibid.,* p. 19, (1929).

55. *Ibid.,* p. 19, (1930). "It has been difficult for some of the new industrial instructors to adapt their public school experiences to boarding school conditions. It

Mr. Perry managed to keep the school on good terms with the people, especially with those in control of the denominational, city schools, and the University of New Mexico. The school was a member of the high school athletic association and, according to John Milne in the Albuquerque Indian School

> has been developed the spirit of good sportsmanship—here they learned to take responsibility and to obey established rules—here they learned to be loyal to common ideals and purposes. If you don't believe that you never attended a game in which high school and Indian school were opposing each other.[56]

The neighboring schools had on many occasions extended accommodations in athletics and in the instruction of art.

In the Navaho rug department fourteen looms were kept busy during the fiscal year, 1930-1931, under the direction of the Navaho instructor, Mrs. Shirley. She was assisted in the design of rugs by Katheryn Peshlakai. Navaho boys and girls who studied design at the University of New Mexico gave advice on design to this department. The Indian art students studied under Mr. Kenneth Chapman, curator of Indian art, Laboratory of American Anthropology, Santa Fe.[57]

The pottery instructor was Mrs. Poncho assisted in

---

is frequently difficult for new persons in the Service to realize the necessity of employees assuming responsibilities for the welfare of the pupils outside of classroom hours. Regulations provide that employees may be assigned additional duties requiring time in addition to regular hours. The new industrial instructors are not pleased at such requirements (teachers in the government service work long hours. They teach, do janitor work, discipline, supervise or chaperon dances, sponsor clubs, classes, and homeroom groups, and during the summer may be detailed to the dormitories, children's kitchen, or laundry. Activities are necessary for a boarding school; teachers must expect a large amount of extra-curricular work)."

56. John Milne, address to the Albuquerque Indian School graduates, May 31, 1934.

57. *Pow-Wow*, p. 50, (1931). Cf., p. 96. Indian art pupils enrolled at the University of New Mexico were: Lucy Garcia, Juanita Pino, Louise Qotukuyva, Olive Quasie, Mary Lujan, Lupita Jojola, Beatrice Healing, Sofia Wallace, Clarabel Irving, Lucy Yepa, Rose Martinez, Nora James, Sue Sandoval, Dorothy Makewa, Rose Pavatea, Emerson Horace, Kyrat Tuyhoevna, Lewis Lomayesva, Joe Valdo, Herman Saracino, Joseph Natsewa, Alex Vijil, John Wallace, Sam Ray Haschlis, Luke Johnston, Joe R. Martinez, and Katherine Peshlakai. Their instructor was Brice Sewell.

designs by Lucy Garcia and Juanita Pino. Hundreds of pieces of pottery were made by this department, 1930-1931. The Pueblo women burn their pottery over a slow fire made by using "cow chips"; the Indian school used this method for some months, but finally installed a large gas kiln costing about $2,000. This department has had some of the very best craftswomen. They come from San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and Acoma.

In 1931 Mrs. Ellen Lawrence [58] was the instructor of ancient weaving and embroidery of the Pueblos. Pueblo girls who desired this training were taught the half-forgotten weaving of their grandmothers, and carried back to their homes, not only the patterns, and articles made, but the spirit of their ancient craft.

In the fall of 1932 the Indian arts and crafts department had been divided into five different classes: pottery making, weaving, silversmithing, Pueblo embroidery, and Indian art. This department attempted to correlate good Indian design with fine craftsmanship. Perhaps the union of these five small departments under one departmental head with a definite objective was due to the great interest in Indian design and painting begun by a small group who studied at the University of New Mexico during the school year 1931-1932.[59]

Children attending the school or returned students when at home were permitted to participate in the old Indian dances.

---

58. Mrs. Ellen Lawrence learned colonial weaving in the Ozark mountains of Missouri when quite young. She moved to Texas in 1882 and took up lace making by studying the designs and instruction in foreign books and magazines. She wrote the *Priscilla Bobbin Lace Book.* In 1913 the Redlands Indian Association sent her to California to teach lace making to the Mission Indians. On January 1, 1915 she entered the Indian Service at that place. In 1919 she was transferred to Jemez, New Mexico, as field matron. The job was such a hopeless one that Mrs. Lawrence started belt weaving first, then embroidery, to save herself from "boredom". The Jemez women did not believe that a white woman could learn their embroidery, and when she succeeded their admiration for her grew so much that they permitted her to teach them how to care for their babies. She was so successful as field matron that the Indian office transferred her to San Felipe in 1925. She remained in that position until January 1928 when she was transferred to the Albuquerque Indian school as assistant matron. On July 1, 1929 she was given the title of assistant seamstress. She still holds this title, and was asked to teach crochet, tapestry, and embroidery in cotton and wool in 1931 using the ancient designs of the Pueblos.

59. *Pow-Wow,* p. 47, (1932).

It was a rare occurrence in 1930-1931 for a young man to leave his work at some distant point and lose his pay for the purpose of returning home to attend an Indian dance.[60]

The immediate aim of industrial training was to instill habits of industry and honor, and to promote skillful use of time and talent in acquiring a chosen vocation. The ultimate aim was to make a pupil a good citizen, willing and able to carry his economic load along the lines of his interest and ability.[61] Special attention was given to the trades of most importance to the Southwest.

Mr. Robert E. Kendrick, teacher of senior high school, during the fiscal year, 1930-1931, prepared a weight-height-age chart for Navahos and Pueblos. Plans were made to use this chart the ensuing year in connection with the Baldwin chart used at this time which gave norms for whites only.[62] The weight chart was actually so used in this connection from 1931-1933.[63]

The outstanding project for 1931-1932 was securing the record of all cows in the Indian service. This school had fourth place, but through extra care and proper feeding obtained first place with one cow, Wesiur Lilly Shylark Thorndike. "In a 305 day test she produced 19,303 pounds of butter fat, and brought a fine calf. Her average was 62.28 pounds of milk per day." [64] This cow was milked four times each day. This department was under the direction of John B. Harris and plenty of milk was furnished to children who were underweight.

---

60. *Narrative Report*, pp. 2-3, (1931). Most of the Indian dances have some religious significance attached to them; however, to the observer they appear to be an endurance contest.

61. Address of John Milne to the graduating class May 31, 1934. "Here (the Albuquerque Indian School) opportunity has been given to develop the qualities of honesty, generosity, dependability, and courage—all of which are most essential in the lives of men and women. This school has striven to strengthen the faith of all students and in so far as it is possible has encouraged the religious training without regard to church affiliation." Under the present commissioner of Indian affairs they are encouraged to continue and perfect the old tribal dances. In the past the commissioner of Indian affairs had helped to eliminate these dances.

62. *Narrative Report*, p. 21, (1931).

63. Personal interview with Mr. Jose Romero, secretary to S. H. Gilliam, principal of the Indian school; Mr. Romero was past secretary to Mrs. Isis L. Harrington, June 21, 1934.

64. *Narrative Report*, p. 10, (1932).

During the school session, 1931-1932, milk or cocoa was served to such students twice each day by a group of home economics girls under the direction of Miss Ann Turner. The children were weighed each week and encouraged to drink larger quantities of milk, sleep in the afternoon, and refrain from strenuous exercise. The results obtained were excellent. Many of the underweights vied with one another in drinking milk, and as they began to put on weight, the weighing process was attended with great satisfaction.[65]

There were fifty-two graduates in 1931,[66] twenty-eight girls, and twenty-four boys, of whom thirteen were Navahos and thirty-nine Pueblos. The average height of the girls was sixty inches; average weight, 108.2 pounds. The average shoe numbered three and one-tenth. Their average age was eighteen and five-tenths years. The boys averaged 130.1 pounds, stood sixty-six inches, wore shoes numbered five and six-tenths, and averaged nineteen and seven-tenths in age.[67]

The graduating class of 1932 [68] wrote Mr. Perry that they appreciated both the honor and benefits that had come to them through his untiring efforts, and for the type of education that would fit them for the trials and duties of life.[69] And, to Mrs. Harrington, the class wrote that she had been a faithful friend and worker for the Albuquerque Indian school for fifteen years, and that she had maintained a high standard which contributed greatly toward their high school training.[70]

There were eighty members in the graduating class of 1932 (forty-four boys and thirty-six girls).[71] Tribes represented were: thirty-seven Navahos, twelve Hopis, nine Lagunas, four Isletas, four Acomas, three San Felipes, two Zuñis, two Apaches, two Taos, one each from Jémez, Santa

---

65. *Pow-Wow*, p. 42, (1932).
66. See appendix, p. 145 of typed thesis.
67. *Pow-Wow*, p. 76, (1931).
68. See appendix, p. 147 of typed thesis.
69. *Pow-Wow*, p. 5, (1932).
70. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
71. See appendix, p. 147 of typed thesis.

Clara, San Juan, Ute, and Pima. These graduates were representatives of the following trades: auto mechanics, fifteen; carpenters, seven; engineers, six; farmers, five; painters, four; bakers, three; tailors, one; dairymen, one; nurses, four; and home economics, thirty-two. Only two members of this class enrolled in college since most of the Indian parents are very poor, and unless the graduates are given scholarships they must either find work or return to the reservation.

There were 100 graduates in the banner class of 1933.[72] This class was disappointed because it was unable to publish *The Pow-Wow.* The Indian office had allowed about $800 for the 1932 *Pow-Wow,* but because of economy orders from the president a similar sum could not be granted this year. In this class an ex-student, Tootsana Teller,[73] (World War veteran and an employee of the Santa Fé railroad shops of Albuquerque) had completed the requirements of sixteen units by correspondence and was permitted to graduate. Only two members of this class were granted scholarships to institutions of higher learning (John Wallace to enter the University of New Mexico, and Janet Becente to enter the Las Vegas Normal). Of the remaining number most of the boys secured work on some government project while a few girls found positions as laborers in Indian day schools.

The class of 1934 was represented by eighty-four members.[74] John Milne in his address to the graduates urged them to use their "power to make America a better place for all the human family to dwell." Many of these graduates are anxious to attend institutions of higher learning.[75]

On May 25, 1932 at the Indian school auditorium the commencement drama, *Achiyah Ladabah* (the giant of the Black mountains),[76] was enjoyed by the city visitors who were fortunate to obtain tickets (about 1000 were actually accommodated). This play was based on a Zuñi legend

72. See appendix, p. 149 of typed thesis.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 129 of typed thesis.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 152 of typed thesis.
75. Results of conferences held with the students by Mr. Gilliam.
76. See appendix, p. 132 of typed thesis.

written by Edward U. Tsyittee while studying English at the Albuquerque Indian school on his return from the World War. The legend was dramatized by his English teacher, Mrs. Harrington, and special Indian music was written by Mr. Boghdan Shlanta and arranged for the band. In every feature the play and music were new and novel, and Mr. Joe Padilla, a graduate of 1931 and an employee, designed the stage setting. The Indian dances were of the most authentic, and placed throughout the play to enhance the theme or accentuate the dramatic color.[77] Five dances were given: the Hopi Eagle Dance, the Hopi Butterfly Dance, the Taos Hoop Dance, the Yebitsei Dance of the Navahos, and the Zuñi Comanche Dance. It required twenty-six dancers to put on these five different dances.[78]

The dikes of the Little Colorado river were washed out early in February, 1932, at Leupp, Arizona, and the Indian school there was flooded so badly that it was considered unsafe to leave the Indian children in Leupp. Hence, the Indian office ordered each grade sent to a nearby Indian school. Naturally, the Albuquerque Indian school was called upon to take one class, and Mr. Perry sent a note of welcome to the superintendent of that school. On February 21, Superintendent Balmer sent his eighth grade (a class of thirty-seven) chaperoned by their teacher, Miss Dora Lunsford. In a short time the new group had adjusted themselves to the routine work of the new school. Now, since the Leupp Indian school had always had an eighth grade graduation exercise, Mr. Perry insisted that they carry out their tradition at the close of the term, and this was done. Superintendent Balmer and Principal C. C. Pidgeon were present at the exercises. Things moved so satisfactorily that practically all of this class enrolled in their adopted school in the fall of 1932. Their instructor, Miss Lunsford, was so well pleased that she asked for a transfer to the Albuquerque school, and this was granted in 1933.[79]

An unusual amount of work was done in the shops in

---

77. *Pow-Wow*, p. 49, (1932).
78. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
79. *Pow-Wow*, p. 47, (1932).

spite of the fact that the head of the industrial department, Mr. D. N. Francheville, was delayed until after January 1, 1933, in working out an industrial instruction plan and a schedule for the boys.[80] The painting instructor, Mr. Maurice E. Covington, taught housepainting, color mixing, blending, and estimation of work. About three and one-fourth hours of practical application was spent on the job. All painting in the school was done by this department.[81]

The carpentry department under the direction of Mr. Ira C. Bruce assisted by Messrs. Joe Padilla, Kinsey Yazza, and Jonah Yazza spent a very busy year in constructing and repairing buildings, cabinet work, and furniture construction.[82]

The auto mechanic department under the direction of Mr. Fred W. Canfield assisted by Mr. James Patten taught care, upkeep, repair, operation and servicing of cars, trucks, busses, tractors, and gas engines. They also taught acetylene welding and machine shop work.[83]

The engineering department under Mr. George B. Perce removed the steam pipes and return lines in various buildings. Many of these pipes had been eaten up by the alkali contained in the water.[84]

Under contract a twelve-inch well was driven to a depth of 400 feet which provided an ample supply of soft water (at least 600 gallons a minute) for domestic use and for irrigation of grounds and garden.[85]

The closing days of the fiscal year, 1932-1933, were for many of the employees, a time of sorrow and uncertainty, for on July 1, 1933 Mr. Perry (who had been in charge of the school since 1908) retired. This would of course work a hardship on some because a new superintendent would probably require them to make new adjustments. Then, too, Mrs. Harrington resigned because she was not in sympathy

80. *Narrative Report*, p. 11, (1933).
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

with the new administration under Commissioner John Collier who favored day schools among the Indians rather than boarding schools. Naturally, employees expected the boarding school either to be abolished or so reduced that many positions would be abolished. The school was reduced seventy-five, a much less radical change than was expected. Other changes made were: Mrs. Blanche Thompson resigned, and Mr. Thompson's position was abolished (they had served the school for seven years), Mrs. Anna Canfield was retired; Miss Dorothy Bryson, Mr. Frank Lee Shannon, and Mr. Leo Smith were transferred.

Before retiring Mr. Perry wrote the Indian office that he thought Mr. Clyde M. Blair would be a splendid successor to carry on the work of the school. The Indian office accepted this recommendation and on July 1, 1933 Mr. Blair was appointed to the position. His acceptance of the superintendency greatly relieved the uncertain feeling among many of the literary instructors, for Mr. Blair had served as principal from 1910-1916, and would be sympathetic toward all employees.[86]

It was with sadness that most of the employees saw the departure of Mr. Perry (after twenty-five years of service) and of Mrs. Harrington (who had served here fifteen years), but it was with thanksgiving that the new superintendent was to be Mr. Blair.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE NEW ADMINISTRATION (1933)

The new superintendent was not a stranger but an old friend of the school. Because of his varied experiences and because of his deep interest in the Indians of the Southwest, Mr. Clyde M. Blair was the logical person for the place. His special interest in athletics, in social activities, and in coordination of industrial work necessitated some changes

86. Personal interview with Mr. Perry, June 5, 1934.

in the regular routine work. An era of progress was expected from his supervision.[1]

Mr. Blair is in harmony with the newer views of progressive education and believes that children must do creative work if they are to progress. In line with this idea many activities were organized in collaboration with Mr. S. H. Gilliam,[2] the new principal, who was even more strongly convinced of the newer philosophy of education. These two administrative officers agreed on several lines of procedure. First, to give standardized tests (both mental and achievement) for adapting the work, drill, and activity to the achievement level of the individuals in each group; second, to organize social activity along educational lines as in clubs, home room exercises, socials, and guidance groups, the purpose being to throw the student on his own initiative; third, to improve vocational instruction, and to add new

---

1. *Indian Leader*, XXXVI, February 10, 1933, No. 24, p. 1. Mr. Clyde Blair entered the Indian Service at Haskell, Lawrence, Kansas, November 27, 1909, as a teacher of mathematics. He was twenty-seven and had not yet completed his college education, but by 1933 he had fitted himself to hold important administrative positions through his many experiences and by specializing in administrative work at the University of Kansas, and the University of Chicago. He was a successful teacher and was promoted to principal teacher of Haskell early in 1910. He served in this capacity almost a year when he was sent to the school at Albuquerque as principal teacher. When the principal of Carlisle Indian School resigned in 1916, Mr. Blair was appointed to that position, and served until the school was permanently closed. In 1918 he was transferred to the Chilocco Indian School as principal and assistant superintendent, and later was made superintendent. He served there until July 1, 1926, when he was transferred to the superintendency of Haskell Institute. He was relieved in July, 1930 by H. B. Peairs and he was sent to Muskogee, Oklahoma, to conduct research studies among the five Civilized Tribes. "This piece of work stands today as a monument to his understanding and comprehension of the Indian problem. Many of the recent social changes which have been made on the reservations and in the Indian schools have grown out of this piece of work which he conducted for the Indian Bureau, 1930, in eastern Oklahoma". On May 6, 1931 he was sent to Klamath Falls Agency, Oregon. While there he helped to bring peace and harmony to the timber interests. In January, 1933 he was returned to Haskell Institute as superintendent and July 1 he was transferred to the Albuquerque school as superintendent.

2. Personal interview with Mr. S. H. Gilliam, May 26, 1934. As for his education, Mr. Gilliam majored in science and minored in Spanish and psychology. He received his B. A. degree from the University of New Mexico in 1924. He has continued his educational work at the University of Colorado, University of California, Los Angeles, University of California, Berkeley, Claremont College, Pomona, Calif., Arizona State Teachers College, Flagstaff, and extension work from the University of Oregon.

Mr. Gilliam was principal of Sherman Institute, Riverside, California, for seven years. From there he was sent to Chemaya, at Chemaya, Oregon as principal, and remained until he was transferred to the same position at this school, August 15, 1933.

courses as needs arose and as teachers were able and willing to assume new duties of this kind; fourth, to simplify and coordinate the work of the literary department with the vocational; and fifth, to lay more stress on a physical athletic program and to put less weight on competitive athletics.

An enriched extra-curricular course was actually put into operation during the fiscal year, 1933-1934. Fifteen clubs [3] were either continued or organized; homerooms organized and gave programs each week; dances, teas, picnics, interclass games, parties, picture shows were scheduled; and religious instruction continued with no change from the previous administration.

Every student was given at least two intelligence tests during the year (language and non-language) and two achievement tests (one in English the other in mathematics). The seniors were given at least five tests (three mental, one achievement, and one for special abilities). On the record made in the first mental test given (in September) the children were placed in groups according to their rating. This was not a rigid rule. Any child receiving an "E" (unsatisfactory work) was demoted one section (remaining in the same grade) while the student ranking highest (upon recommendation of his teachers) was promoted. Work offered for the best section in each grade fits them for higher education while that offered the lower groups fits them for the vocational trades. Very fine results have come about as to more scientific grouping. After school closed May 31 each homeroom teacher averaged the I. Q.'s for her section. Next year, 1934-1935, the groups will be even more homogeneous and a higher type of work may be expected.

Vocational instructors were required to submit problems to the literary department for the purpose of making the work in mathematics more practical. The level in gen-

---

3. The clubs were: athletic (boxing and wrestling, girls' athletic club), music (mandolin, chorus, orchestra, band), house-counsellors (supplanted the tribal meetings held twice each month), campfire girls, boy scouts; art, dramatic, parliamentary, home economics, industrial for boys, and liberty.

eral mathematics (based on four different medians from standardized tests) was raised some. The next fiscal year should show a greater improvement.

Mrs. Almira Francheville was made head of all industries presided over by women instructors. This has coordinated the work and centralized all industrial functions under her department. Other centralized features will possibly be added next year.

In the literary department English, guidance, shop mathematics, and activities have been the foundation upon which all work has been built. The children have expressed happiness from the many activities engaged in by them.[4] It is hoped that the guidance course has and will result in great good.

Ahtletics for all the pupils have been given all year. Both boys [5] and girls [6] have taken two periods each week in non-competitive athletics. Monthly weighings have been made; however, the principles of health have been taught by the literary teachers and not by the physical education directors. The year has been a successful one in competitive athletics. In football the Indian team was victorious over their ancient enemy, the Albuquerque high school. In basketball they won the city title race, and won second place in the state tournament.

A few changes have been made during the year because the Indian office has again reduced the enrollment of the school by seventy-five, necessitating the abolishment of several positions.[7] Mr. Francheville's position was abolished during mid-winter and also Mr. Jerome Leatherwood's. Near the close of school Mrs. Helen Lock and Miss Laura V. Gapen's positions were abolished and Mr. Gilmore and Miss Copeland were retired. The commissioner of Indian affairs proposes to use Indians whenever possible to carry on the process of Indian education.

Mr. Gilliam believes the students should be given entire

4. An inspection of home letters each month. Each teacher sponsored at least one activity meeting twice each month throughout the year.

5. Boys athletics were directed by J. E. Jones.

6. Girls athletics were directed by Miss Bessie Trowbridge.

7. See appendix, p. 154 of typed thesis.

freedom as to quantity and courses taken, especially if the student is insistent and be allowed to continue with the course until proved wrong—the student is thus thrown on his own initiative. Courses added to give a wider range for pupils to select from were: Red Cross[8] work for boys, home economics[9] for boys, beauty parlor work, and a general native crafts course which is to train for home improvement and better community participation. All general courses are given for the purpose of sending the pupils back to their homes equipped to live in their own communities, while specialized courses train them for definite jobs and not for home life. An attempt has been made to reduce institutional work on the part of the students (fatigue or regular detail work such as cleaning buildings, serving in the dining room, or running errands) and to increase vocational activity of worthwhile training value.[11]

The new administration, though instituting radical changes that show promise of great good, is too new to be compared with the building of a great Indian training school under Mr. Perry. It is the task of the present administrator to improve the fine work already done and to broaden the scope of the institution. The fiscal year, 1933-1934, has been but the transition from the old to the new—having brought with it new activities (keeping some, discarding others), many changes in the operation of the school plant, and new aims in educating the Indian children of this section for social and economic leadership.

The old administration can look back upon a magnificent school plant, a fully developed four-year high school course, an organized and perfected system of trades best suited to the Indians of the Southwest, the best band organization in the state, a reclaimed school farm, an increased enrollment and per capita cost, a splendid native arts and crafts department, an expert athletic organization, the installation of a completely new sewerage, heating, and

8. Under the direction of Miss Mary Elizabeth Kavel, head nurse.
9. Given by Miss Ann Turner.
10. Directed by Miss Alice Clairmont.
11. Personal interview with Mr. S. H. Gilliam, May 26, 1934.

water system, the finest Indian school hospital, clubhouse, gymnasium, and barn in the Indian service, the perpetuation of those traditions and legends most dear to Indian boys and girls, and a friendly relationship with churches, schools, and the University of New Mexico. Indeed, the following tribute to Mr. Perry from John Milne in his address to the graduating class of 1934 is most fitting: "When the history of the period in which Mr. Perry served is finally written his record of achievement will make a great and a deserved monument to him." Through his years of service and unselfish devotion to the pupils of the Albuquerque Indian School, Mr. Perry has helped those attending the school to live a richer fuller life.

## APPENDIX No. 1

Veterans of the World War
See *Pow-Wow*, 1929, p. 4

1. Francisco Abeita
2. Remijo Abeita
3. William Allen
4. Pete Anderson
5. Isaac Anallo
6. Sebastian Bradley
7. Philip Cata
8. Clarence D. Claw
9. Harry D. Claw
10. Francisco Chino
11. Morris Denetdele
12. Frank Francisco
13. Willie Gaishtia
14. Manuel Gonzalez
15. John Gunn
16. Armado Garcia
17. Frank Hathorn
18. Tom Hathorn
19. Henry Hiyi
20. George Keryte
21. Vicenti Keryte
22. Sam Lincoln
23. Antonio Lucero
24. Henry Marmon
25. Kenneth Marmon
26. Paul Martin
27. Joe McCarty
28. Ray Natesway
29. Libe Nata
30. George Naiche
31. Walker Norcross
32. Chee Chilly Notah
33. Trancito Ortiz
34. Dean Onsathy
35. George Paisano
36. Abel Paisano
37. Santiago Pearly
38. Frank Pedro
39. Andrew Phillips
40. George Pratt
41. Chee Platero
42. Paul Reid
43. Vidal Sanchez
44. George Santiago
45. Charles Seonia
46. Willie Seonia
47. Alonzo Shakey
48. George Siou
49. Harry Spencer
50. Chee Dah Spencer
51. Henry Tallman
52. Bennie Tohee

53. Tootsana Teller
54. Kee Toledo
55. Nerio Tafoya
56. Edward U. Tysittee
57. Romero Vallo
58. Rols Vam Chee Dah
59. Lorenzo Waconda
60. Louis Waconda
61. Frank White
62. Natah Wilson
63. Sam Williams
64. Paul Yazza (killed in action)

*In Memoriam*

Paul Yazza
(Class of 1929 in *Pow-Wow*, p. 5)

"Rest ye in peace, ye Flanders dead.
The fight that ye so bravely led
We've taken up. And we will keep
True Faith with you who lie asleep."
—R. W. Lillard.

## APPENDIX No. 2

A Brief Survey of the Work of Mrs. Isis L. Harrington in the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1917-1933 [1]

"Sunday, P. M.

My dear Miss McKinney:

I came to the Albuquerque Indian School as teacher, August, 1917. I had been in the service (Senior Teacher, Sac and Fox, Stroud, Oklahoma) two years entering from Missouri State Teachers' College at Springfield. Being the newest acsuisition to the A. I. S. faculty I had to take what nobody else wanted in everything from grade subject, and pupils to room furniture in the club.

"Educationally I drew the work called 'adult primary' and when those full-grown men and women tumbled in upon me the first morning of school with their 'Rose Primer' I all but fled. When they opened their primers to the lesson (assigned by the teacher who had 'shelved' them on to me) and I saw the lesson was *Hip-Hops*, 'One little, two little, three little hip-hops, etc.', what could a self-respecting woman do teaching 'little hip-hops' to husky men and women who, perhaps, never in their lives thought in terms of 'hip-hops'!

"This group of adults actually drove me, in desperation, into a philosophy of education hitherto foreign to me. Self defense caused me actually to print on board, and later to type individual lessons for those pupils, basing their lessons in everything on their industrial, home and school activities . They were not paralyzed, hence activity

1. Many of the topics mentioned in this letter are discussed in the *Pow-Wow* (1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932).

was the one common ground on which we all might stand. In order to see what each member of my class was doing in industrial departments, I haunted dining hall, kitchen, bakery, dairy, shoe shop, cow barn, horse barn, and so on. Gathering material for my next day's lesson took me over the plant till I knew every nook and corner on the campus and what went on there—even to the hot ash pile by the boiler house where the fire boys buried their gallon syrup bucket of coffee to cook.

"The adult primary waxed interested and interesting—gaining knowledge—each for his own purpose. We had a course of study but I never applied its demands to my adults. General Pratt visited my adult class one day when we were playing a game learning a multiplication table. He praised the class highly. One adult rose and said 'Thank you, General.' This touched the grand old man. It was his last visit to the Albuquerque Indian School.

"The policy of admitting adults waning in 1919-1920, no more adults were entered, and eventually I was given a class of fourth grade. I found my methods of making my own text worked well with this class as it had with my adults. English seemed the most needed of any subjects and I got it into them, and out of them, in divers and sundry ways. They learned freedom of expression (and freedom of speech!). In 1919 I was promoted to head English teacher with all English in seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth grades. In these English classes many of the school's traditions and customs were born and nurtured. The juniors and seniors (ninth and tenth grades) were real high school students. Those attending City High School subsequently never had a failure in English and finished the eleventh and twelfth grades in the city with the respect of all the teachers.

"With a growing demand of the students for two years more of high school, two years were added to the curriculum which now offered real high school essentials through the four-year course. This extension coming after I had been promoted to principalship in 1922 made my duties very heavy, and I dropped the teaching of all but high school English.

"Through English I was able to help many an Indian boy and girl with his lessons, connecting and coordinating his industrial and academic activities at school, and his literary and artistic legacy at home, with his actual life. Through these courses in English, also, I learned from my students much of Indian culture, literature, government, and social life. All this helped me to build upon what the student already had. I tried to bring out the genuine respect and honor due such institutions, beliefs, literature, and arts and crafts as the race had contributed to civilization. The knowledge thus thrust upon me by my English classes has enabled me to write authentic, comprehensive, and timely material of Indians of the Southwest.

"As A. I. S. grew in numbers, and more work fell upon the high

school (lower grades were dropped until only junior high and senior high were left) I was forced to drop teaching entirely spending all my time in supervisory work. Pupils who had been my English students came for advice and guidance in all sorts of problems, and today boys and girls (now men and women), and I have secret confidences that no one but them and me shall ever know.

"During my term as principal many school activities were initiated. Some fell by the way, others persisted. Tribal meetings were instituted, coming, indirectly, from a request of prominent Zuñi students to be allowed to take charge of the discipline of one of their number who persisted in 'disgracing our tribe' as Ed Tsyittee, the spokesman, put it. The request being granted brought such satisfactory results that other tribes, hearing of it, made the same request. From that time on, about 1925, student government was handled by each tribe meeting once each month to deal with disciplinary and behavior problems of that tribe's members. This tribal government persisted and was one of the most beneficial things to both school and individuals I have ever seen. Literary societies, dramatic clubs, music clubs, industrial clubs, Alumni Association, Honor Society, Declamatory Contests, and Athletic organizations which I have sponsored still persist after many years. *Hiawatha* (dramatization) and *Achiyah Ladabah (The Giant of the Black Mountains)* were written and produced by me with the assistance of the Indian pupils.

"Some traditions and customs instituted through my English classes still continue. It might interest you to know some of these: presentation of the key to the incoming senior class (beginning in 1919); organization of the Honor Society, 1927; memorials of classes dating from 1921 (as planting of the elm tree between the office and the superintendent's cottage, 1921); the Benjamin Franklin printing press, and planting the catalpa tree by the band stand with the Will of the class buried at its roots, 1923, 'the Clara Barton Trio,' three elms planted along the walk to the old hospital, 1924; the drinking fountain on the campus, 1925; the signal system in the school building, 1928; the gavel made by the class of 1930 (It contains wood, silver, and turquoise, and is to be surrendered each year to the junior class. The surrender is to be made on graduation, and at the same exercise —following the graduation exercise); the Chinese elms in front of the school building were planted, 1931 (the name of the tree on the north is *Charles Curtis;* the other, *Edison;* and with these trees is buried a sealed bottle containing the names of trees and participants); the Alumni Association was organized June 9, 1920 (the organizers were: Superintendent Perry, Dr. Wedge, myself, and Class of 1920; the slogan for the association was suggested by Dr. Wedge: 'Omaha', meaning 'Up-Stream' was adopted as it is an Indian word); the trophy case at the auditorium was donated by the Alumni, and made by the carpenters in the Class of 1930; the first *Yearbook* (named

*Pow-Wow*) was put out in 1927; in 1925 there were no graduates on account of the addition of two years to the curriculum (the class came back, took two years' more work and was graduated with the first four-year high school course, 1927); and the Service Flag, made and kept during the World War by the Minnehaha Literary Society burned in the fire that destroyed the auditorium. (It contained one silver star. That for Paul David Yazza, and sixty-three white stars.) The names on the certificate of Appreciation given the school by President Calvin Coolidge are those of all A. I. S. boys whose stars were on the Minnehaha Service Flag.

"If you will read the legends in the *Pow-Wow's* from 1927-1932 you will appreciate the legends written by the children of their respective tribes. Rich indeed is the heritage of the Indian School in preserving these native stories.

"I wrote the following lines for the graduating class of 1932:

When you return in years to come
And those you knew are gone
Some shrub, or tree, or dusty tome
Will bid you welcome home.
The walks you've trod in days long past
May wider be, or fewer,
Still old A. I. S. holds you dear
And knows that none are truer.

"Many of the facts given regarding traditions may be found in 'Lest We Forget' of the 1932 *Pow-Wow*. In my office are cuts of pupils, employees, and buildings that if included would add interest to your thesis which I am sure will be a most valuable asset to the study of education in the Indian Service. Employees entering the service will find help here that can be found nowhere else, and I congratulate you on your taking such a timely subject and one on which—so far as I know—very little of use has been written before.

"If I can be of any further Service to you, please call on me.

Very truly yours,

Isis L. Harrington."

# FROM LEWISBURG TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849
(Notes from the Diary of William H. Chamberlin)

*(Concluded)*

*Edited by* LANSING B. BLOOM

## CHAPTER XX

Friday, Sept. 14.—Found an Indian trail this morning, which we followed for several hours, when we came to a deep slue of stagnant, though fresh good water. Here we found two or three Indians encamped on their way from the mines. They had been working for Col. Fremont, and had been paid in blankets and clothing. These Indians are very lazy, and will only work for clothing, preferring to steal their food, live on acorns, roots, fish, etc., or do without. They care nothing about money, and if they happen to get any it is immediately spent for some article of clothing or ornament. These Indians informed us that we were four days' journey from the mines, two from the San Joaquin river, without a trail and a difficult course, having no landmarks, which we found pretty correct, "only more so." After a hard day's march, and a very winding one, we encamped on a patch of good grass near a reed swamp, from which we procured water. No wood, but we gathered a large pile of dry wild horse dung and set it on fire, which answered the purpose very well, and is certainly an improvement upon buffalo chips. We roasted the last of our elk meat and ate it this evening. Our provision sacks are now empty. Having nothing to cook our meat in, or with, we were obliged to roast it on spits and it was well scented by the fuel. With a good wood fire this is by far the best way of cooking fresh meat. It has a much sweeter flavor. We see an abundance of game during the day, but can not get within shot, the country being so level. The country still has the same barren appearance, except on the immediate border of the marshes, slues and rivers in the centre of the valley. Had we not become accustomed to mirage we would be deceived by it every day; as it is, it is hard to believe what "our eyes see." Groves of trees and flats of grass constantly appearing before us in the desert waste, and never reaching them, only serves to make traveling more wearisome and unpleasant. The weather is now com-

fortable during the day and very cool at night. The hazy state of the atmosphere continues, and heavy dews fell during the night. Wild horses around camp this evening. Distance, 25 miles—2471.

Saturday, Sept. 15.—Shortly after we started three antelopes crossed our path a short distance ahead of us. Being in advance I shot two of them, one of which we packed along, and gave the other to several emigrants, who had encamped with us and were also out of provisions. We shaped our course N. W. and about 11 o'clock a. m. reached a large slue, which we at first thought to be a river. It was about 30 yards wide, deep, but we could observe no current, although the water was clear and fresh, and abounded in fish. On the west of us we saw a heavy line of timber; following down the slue in that direction, we soon reached its junction with the San Joaquin river. We have reason to rejoice that we have at last reached this point, for we have been bewildered and troubled no little since entering the valley. Several mules "gave out" before reaching camp this evening, but were afterwards brought up. The fact is, we are amongst the first persons that ever traveled down this desert side of the valley, which we have since ascertained. The river is about 60 yards wide and from 2 to 4 feet deep at this place. The current runs at the rate of 1½ miles per hour. The water is very cold, clear and good. It runs on a bed of sand which is bespangled with flakes of mica, resembling gold, and abounds in fine fish called mountain trout, of the same species that we caught in the head waters of the Rio Gila. The banks of the river are skirted with a thick growth of large and small willows and underbrush. The entire bed of the river is several hundred yards in width, and the banks 15 feet high, which are no doubt full in time of high water. We are encamped on the great bend in the river, which a few miles west of us flows off in a N. W. direction. It rises in the Sierra Nevada mountains and flows S. E. to this point,[94] where its general course is N. W. to its mouth. We have not yet had a glimpse of the Sierra Nevada range. Distance, 20 miles—2491.

Sunday, Sept. 16.—Eight of our mules were missing this morning and we did not recover them until noon. We trailed them several miles and found them amongst a band of wild horses. We had great difficulty in separating them from the horses, and what seems strange, the mules that were broken down the evening before were amongst the number. The wild horses had led them away from camp

94. He should have said southwest instead of southeast.

during the night. They are a great annoyance to travelers. However, this delay proved a fortunate circumstance to us. We did not move camp. Capt. Dixon shot two antelopes; and one of our party who crossed the river in search of the lost mules, met a company of gold diggers on a "prospecting" expedition to Kings river, which I believe is a branch of the San Joaquin.[95] Their captain, Mr. Walker, is an old Indian trader, has been in this country some years, and visited the States six times by the overland route.[96] He gave us a great deal of information concerning this country, the gold mines, etc. But what was better than all, we purchased three days' rations of American flour from them. This was very providential. We gave 50 cents per quart for it, which was reasonable. These various matters occupied our time during the day. Indications of rain, but none fell. We actually suffered from cold during the night.

Monday, Sept. 17. — Found a shallow fording and crossed the river early this morning. We hurried the mules through, which prevented their miring in the quicksand. We were advised by Capt. Walker's company to continue up the river a day's march, and then strike in a N. E. direction for the mountains. We nooned at some deserted Indian wigwams, and caught some fish for dinner, which we roasted in the ashes. The country lies higher on this side of the river, but is almost as sterile as the other side. The earth is of the same ashy nature, into which the mules sunk at every step. The surface is made irregular by the numerous little hillocks scattered over it. We encamped on the bank of the San Joaquin, which is certainly a pretty stream, runs in a clear bed, is as clear as crystal, and very meandering in its course. Distance, 20 miles—2511.

Tuesday, Sept. 18.—Left the river this morning and traveled in a N. E .direction by the compass. In a short time the mountains became visible, when we bore due north for them, and reached the table land about 2 o'clock p. m. The day was very hot, and we nooned without water for ourselves and animals. Packed up and spent the rest of the day in search of water, but found none, and were obliged to encamp without it. We found a green spot where there had

---

95. Like the San Joaquín (but to the south and roughly parallel with it) King's river flows southwest and then northwest, joining the San Joaquín west of the modern Fresno.

96. Doubtless he is speaking of Joseph Walker "the famous Santa Fé trapper who had served under Bonneville and had broken the trail from Great Salt Lake west across the Great Basin to Monterey," discovering a pass at the source of the San Joaquiń river. Nevins, *op. cit.*, 198, 211, citing Sabin, *Kit Carson Days*.

lately been water and had good grass for the mules. Distance, 20 miles—2531.

Wednesday, Sept. 19.—These mountains are very barren, but there is a species of oak growing in the ravines. To produce acorns for Indian food and make fire wood is about all this tree is good for. It is large and branching, but very short in the trunk. After an hour's drive we came to a small, clear running stream. Supposing this to be one of the mining rivers, and within reach of provisions, we ate our last small rations of bread and meat, of which we were much in need, having eaten nothing since yesterday morning. All hands were certain that we would have our "eyes" at least full of gold dust in less than twenty-four hours, and of course, once in the diggings we could get something to eat, and "all about supper" in the mines was the joke about camp. Well, we packed up and traveled until dark, expecting every moment to hear the music of the pick and shovel, or meet some "umbra" [97] that could direct us to the desired haven. But we were (green, wa'nt we?) doomed to be disappointed in our expectations, and we again encamped without water or anything to eat. Some of our men did not get in for several hours after we encamped, their riding mules having failed under them. We killed an animal resembling a ground hog this afternoon, on which we expected to have a delicious supper. After dressing him as well as we could without water, we threw the carcass into the fire and "stirred him up" until we thought him "done brown." But, alas! like the pelican, a single bite sufficed for supper. We laid it aside, sorry that we had troubled packing it into camp, and turned in to rest if we could, or suck the gums to allay the thirst, thinking that we could eat something if we had it. Distance, 20 miles—2551.

Thursday, Sept. 20.—Made an early start, and the small path we were on soon led us to the water. This we found in a deep ravine in the mountains. The bed of the stream was dry, except in this one place, but from signs a large body of water poured down it during the rainy season. This is the character of many of the small streams running from these mountains. We found horse and mule tracks a short distance up the ravine, but there they ended. After a fruitless search for a trail leading out in the direction we wished to go, we were obliged to descend the rocky bed of the arroyo. We were not aware at this time that we were so near the "Maraposa" diggings, which are located within ten miles to the eastward of this point. Ignorance may be the "mother

---

97. Chamberlin spelled it as it sounded. He means the Spanish *hombre* (man).

of vice," but it was the cause of misfortune and suffering to us in this case. Having nothing to cook we tried acorns, but they were too green and bitter. We drank a cup of coffee and started. We had gone but a short distance when we again found the trail of cart tracks, which we had been endeavoring to follow, and continued on this for some time before we discovered that we were traveling in a S. E. direction, and directly on the back track. Here was a dilemma; which way to go we knew not. Three-fourths of our mules were completely worn out, and ourselves so reduced in strength that we could scarcely pack and unpack. After a short deliberation we concluded to return to the ravine, which we had followed out to the edge of the plain. Here we found another small hole of water, some grass, and encamped beneath the shade of a large spreading oak. John Musser, Hill Dixon and Charles Gathwait took four of the best mules and started in search of the mines for provisions. They had gone but a mile or two when Dixon and Gathwait "had some words" about the course, (they were of the same mess); Hill knocked Gathwait off his mule and he fell "smash" into a hornet's nest. The insects, not liking this, attacked the intruder on all sides. He not knowing where he was, or what this new pain meant, sung out lustily for help to get out of h—l. Poor Charley returned to camp writhing with pain; his "eyes blacked," face swollen, and "blind as a bat." There is no doubt but that hunger quickens the temper and destroys man's best nature. We have not met a single person since leaving the San Joaquin river that could give us any information, not even an Indian whom we could employ as guide, without which it is difficult to travel in this country, there being so many trails running in various directions. Those that went in search of provisions, were instructed to strike a due north course, in case they could find a well-beaten satisfactory trail to follow. We drank a little coffee and lay down to meditate upon our "fix." Slept, but only to dream of "sides of bacon," "pots of mush," and other luxuries, that we despised in days lang syne. Distance, 5 miles—2556.

Friday, Sept. 21.—This morning I gathered up an old, dirty bag that had contained sugar, and boiled it out. In this water we boiled coffee, and a better cup I never drank. Some of us started out with our guns and succeeded in killing a small hare, a hawk, and a few woodpeckers, quails and doves. These we put into a camp kettle and made it full of broth, but it scarcely deserved the name, being so thin and poor. Out of this nine of us ate, or rather supped,

for there was scarcely a bird to the man. We styled it "bird tea." This is all we have eaten for 52 hours. The condition of our bodies can well be imagined. My rifle is the only gun left in our mess, out of what we started with. We made all the effort we could to kill some large game, but without success. We anxiously looked for relief until dark, expecting our men to return; but they did not come and we began to fear that they had strayed from their course, for we were all satisfied that we could not be far from "some place." When night set in Howard and Armstrong saddled up their mules and started out on the same errand. We made up our minds not to kill one of our mules until reduced to the last extremity. This evening Capt. Dixon learned Maj. Green "how to fire-hunt"; accordingly the captain shouldered the "blazing pan" and rifle and the major a bag of small wood, to keep up the flame, and sallied out. They returned in about an hour, not being able to "shine any eyes." We turned in, but the gnawing of hunger would not suffer us to sleep soundly. Our slumbering visions were disturbed by the sight of bloody mule steaks smoking on the spit, but before we could enjoy the imaginary feast, the shrill howl of a caoti [coyote] would "tear our eyes open."

---

## Chapter XXI

Saturday, Sept. 22.—I started out this morning in hopes that I could kill an antelope, but was so weak that I could not hold out long, and after a stroll of two or three miles, I was obliged to return to camp. We attempted several times to eat the green acorns, boiling and toasting them, but they only sickened us. We firmly resolved to kill a mule to-morrow morning if our men do not return before that time with provisions. (We have since learned that a number of companies, coming into the San Joaquin valley from the coast on their way to the Maraposa mines, were as badly bewildered as ourselves, and some of them much worse, getting into the mountains amongst the Indians, and were obliged to live upon grasshoppers, acorns, horse beef, etc.) About 3 o'clock p. m. Howard and Armstrong returned, having run the trail out on which they started. They sung out for some mule beef before they had reached camp, thinking that we had certainly butchered one by this time. A few moments after Musser and Dixon came in with a mule load, having been more successful. After a considerable winding about amongst the mountains in search of a trail they struck out in a due north course, and reached the Rio

Marcaides [Mercedes], where they saw some cattle, and shortly afterwards a man, who directed them to Scott and Montgomery's ranch, a few miles down the river, which they reached yesterday evening.[98] They purchased and packed the supplies last night, and left early this morning. When about to buy they were asked whether they had any money? Of course they wanted to know why such a question was asked, and were told that if they had money "they must pay well for what they got, and if not they should have it any-how; that's the way we do business in California." Our boys said they likely had enough, but none to spare, and they charged accordingly—75c per pound for pork, 75c for jerked beef, 62½c for flour, 55c for sugar, 37½ for green beef, etc.—3 days' rations. The bill amounted to $90, the whole of which could have been purchased in Lewisburg for $5. We thought it "smacked" strongly for the diggings, but we rejoiced to get it at any price, and immediately set about satisfying our appetites. John and Hill were two or three meals ahead of us, but they well earned them. I ate very sparingly of bread alone, fearing the effect, but with all my care I was very unwell during the night, and at the same time suffered from toothache. Hill and Charles "shook hands and made up," and peace and plenty being once more restored in camp, a more pleasant, jovial evening has not been enjoyed in a long time, and our past troubles and trials were set aside as things that have happened but cannot happen again. Besides all this, our boys, while at the ranch, saw some of the genuine gold diggers and lots of the dust, that had been taken out of the earth not more than two days' journey hence. Under the circumstances, who wouldn't feel good? "O, California! That's the land," etc., etc.

Sunday, Sept. 23.—Our mules have done finely, and started off more lively than usual. Traveled in a N. W. direction, over rolling tablelands, and stopped to noon at a fine pool of water. Towards evening we reached the Rio Marcaides and encamped. Here we found a large trail and wagon road leading up to the river. This is a beautiful, clear, running stream, abounding in fish, and at this point is 20 feet wide and 1 ft. deep. Distance, 16 miles—2572.

Monday, Sept. 24.—Unwell during the night and feel bad this morning. Going up the river some distance, we left it and turned to the right, on the road leading to the Maraposa mines. It had been our intention to stop on the Marcaides, but having become so accustomed to traveling we could not halt. Like the sailor, we would be out of our

98. These men, Scott and Montgomery, we are unable to identify.

latitude in any other business. We saw where some washing had been done, but nobody was at work. Traveled over a mountainous country, partly covered with stunted oak, pine and other timber. The earth is of a reddish cast, clay and gravel, with slate and quartz rock cropping out in places. We nooned at a spring by the wayside. Here we met persons going to and from the mines, and have heard the first unfavorable side of the story; which of course we did [not] relish. Several persons from more northern diggings said, "we have heard that rich deposits of gold have been discovered in the Maraposa region, and we are on our way thither, to get some of the big lump; for in the Towalume diggings, which we have just left, we can't make more than an ounce a day to do our best, and that won't pay salt." "It is all a d——d lie about their discovering rich diggings in the Maraposa region," said another man. "I've just come from there myself, nine-tenths of those at work are not actually making their bread, and it's a rare chance that a man makes an ounce a day. If I hadn't left when I did I should have starved. I'm bound for the Towalume diggings myself. A friend of mine has just returned from there, and says that he can make two or three ounces a day easy. And if I can't make that, an ounce a day, as you say a man can make, it is better than to work for nothing in the cursed Maraposa diggings." And thus the conversation ran on. We "pricked up our ears," for we found out that this gold question, like many others, has two sides, and can be discussed. Another poor fellow inquired the distance to Scott's ranch; said that he tried his luck in the diggings, and was satisfied that there was none for him, that he was now on his way to San Francisco to start home, and if God would let him live long enough to get out of the country, he would never want to hear the word "gold dust" mentioned. These were knock-down arguments, but we have traveled some five thousand miles to "see the sights," and see it we would. Accordingly we proceeded on our journey and encamped near a spring on the mountains. I have kept up with the company but a small portion of the day, having frequent very sick spells, when I would be obliged to alight and lay down in the shade until better. When I reached camp I was much fatigued and very weak. Distance, 16 miles—2588.

Tuesday, Sept. 25.—Unwell all night. Packed up this morning for the last time, we hope, (until ready to vamose from the diggings), and continued our journey over a mountainous country. Met a number of Americans and Spaniards packing from the mines, and passed others on their

way thither, heavily laden with provisions, merchandise, etc. Passed a number of dry diggings, at present unworked for want of water. The amount of earth thrown up appears almost incredible; the bed of almost every ravine and gulch is turned over. About 2 o'clock we reached the foot of the arroyo, known as Fremont's diggings, and "dropped anchor" in sight of the "promised land," after the lapse of seven months since leaving home, and an overland journey of twenty-six hundred (2600) miles.

* * * *

May 24, 1850.—My log-book, or "notes by the way," ended with our journey; but our experience since arriving in the country, and what we have "seen and heard," may prove interesting for future reference, in noting which, I am satisfied that an occasional leisure hour will not be entirely misspent. I can say for our mess that I never heard a man (save one) regret the adventure, either on road or since; but have heard scores by the way almost curse the day that they ventured upon the hazardous and foolhardy enterprise, and had they known what they were obliged to endure, all the gold in California could not have enticed them from home.

Our experience at gold digging was short and unsuccessful. The day after we arrived at Maraposa mines, we moved camp to a spot we had selected, upon the point of a rocky bluff, overlooking a large part of the gulch in which digging was going on. Here we "set up stakes," or rather lay down our empty, worn-out packs, beneath the imperfect shade of several small oak trees. We had no tent, nor had we slept under cover since leaving Santa Fe. There was no grass in the vicinity, and the Indians were stealing animals every night and driving them off into the mountains. We concluded to send our mules to Scott's ranch on the Marcaides, where we could have them run with a "caballada," upon the range, at $8 per month each, and no security for their safe keeping. Our first business was to purchase a supply of provisions. There were several stores in the place, some in tents, others in the open air. We found prices to range pretty much as follows: Tea, $3; flour, 50c per pound; pork, 75c; saleratus, $8 per pound, etc. This was said to be very cheap, and really was, but at the time we thought it sank pretty deep into the small remnant of "coined dust" we had brought with us. It cost about $2 per day to live, and do our own cooking. We were surprised to see how willing merchants were to credit persons coming into the mines with provisions, tools, etc., and also noticed that the miners

were not in the habit of paying cash, but settled their bills at the end of the week or month. Our next step was to take a walk through the diggings, see how they did it, what tools were required, and select a spot to commence operations. The first hole that attracted our attention was at a narrow point in the arroyo, and from the appearance of the rock on either side, a ledge once obstructed the passage of the stream, which is now so low that the water appears only at intervals, and sinks. In this place there were three persons at work. They sunk the hole some 8 or 10 feet deep; one was engaged in bailing out water, another was scraping up the gravel and sand in the bottom, and the third washed it out in a wooden bowl. We saw him washing out several times, and always had from half an ounce to two ounces. This we thought "first rate luck," but they worked hard for it, and were wet from head to foot. Several persons were working with them, with tolerable success. We went a little farther up the gulch, and stopped to inquire of a man what luck. He was taking out about an ounce per day. Another man was at work opening a new hole; he said that he had worked three weeks in a hole some distance above, and made but a few dollars. If he didn't have better luck this time he would leave for some other diggings. Here the Sonorians were at work, burrowing under the ground, and working very slowly and carefully collecting none but the earth containing gold, which they packed off to water upon their heads. The Americans seldom work in the dry diggings. We saw a number of machines at work with varied success. They consisted of a rocker or cradle, dug out of a pine log, placed in a slanting position, and put in motion by means of a lever. The earth and water is poured in at the upper end, passes through a copper or sheet iron sieve, and runs off at the lower end, the gold and some sand settled to the bottom and is retained by several cross pieces or shoulders, left on the bottom when dug out. We soon became satisfied looking at others, and also satisfied that the larger portion of those at work were making but little more than board. We supplied ourselves with the necessary tools and went to work. Paid $16 for a crowbar, $8 for a shovel, etc.

Opening a hole in these diggings was a pretty difficult job. It was not worth while to clear off a large spot, for it would only be by chance that we would find gold at the bottom, and the stone and clay were closely cemented together, making the digging very hard. When we reached the rock we found that a "knife" was necessary to dig out the crevices, and a "horn spoon" to scrape it up. I tried wash-

ing, but when I had all the earth and sand out of the pan, there was no gold in the bottom. I gave that part of the play up in despair, having never washed out a peck. We sank several holes, all with like ill success. While we were in the mines the total earnings of three of us was about $40, and our expenses $100. These mines are 80 miles distant from Stockton and 180 miles from San Francisco by land. Col. Fremont holds a claim of 100 square miles, which he purchased of the Spanish governor of California.[99] This covers the most valuable portion of the Maraposa gold regions. His partner Mr. Godey had a store here, and a large number of Indians employed at digging.[100] He had discovered a large vein of quartz rock said to be rich in ore, and has erected a rude machine for crushing it. From what we could learn there were about 200 Americans and as many foreigners and Indians at work in these diggings. The Americans were mostly from Texas and other southern states. The entire population appeared orderly and well disposed. The men went about their work, leaving camp, their provisions and money to take care of themselves. It is seldom that punishment is necessary in the mines, but when required, I am told that the Lynch law is immediately put in force, and offenders may expect a "rough handling." There was a good deal of liquor sold, at 50c per glass and $5 per bottle. There was a man buried a short distance from our camp who died from the effects of drink at these prices.

On Sunday there was an election for alcalde, and an auction. I saw *panol* bought at $10 per 100 pounds for horse feed. The Mexicans prepare it by roasting the wheat before grinding it, and eat it with sugar and water. We saw very few men digging on the Sabbath; with the above exceptions, the day was pretty well observed. In the evening, when nothing was to be seen but the many camp-fires, and all was still but the low hum of conversation as it came up from the different groups around the lights, and at once, from the opposite side of the arroyo, a loud, musical voice stuck up,

"On Jordon's stormy banks I stand, etc."

It sounded strange, and yet familiar, in this wild, pent-up

---

99. The reference is to Governor Pio Pico. See H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, vi, 552, note. "Under the Mexican law, such a grant as Fremont had obtained gave no title to mineral rights, and public opinion regarded placer deposits, no matter on whose land, as general and unrestricted property."—Nevins, *Frémont*, 436.

100. The man here called "partner" was Alexander Godey, for years a close friend and associate of Frémont.

corner of the world. As the sound rolled along the gulch, and reverberated from the hill and mountain, it reminded us of "good old Methodist times" at home, and we concluded that the singer must be one of 'em.

---

## Chapter XXII

Green, Howard and Fox, who worked together, were more lucky in digging than Musser, Schaffle and myself. Howard picked up a piece containing some quartz which weighed nine ounces. I saw one piece that weighed five pounds, and several others weighing 3, 2 and 1 pounds. Mr. Armstrong became dissatisfied with the country and diggings and made up his mind to go home. I believe he never struck a blow nor washed a grain. He had been unwell for some days. We were sorry to see him leave. He had been a good fellow and deserved the best wishes of us all. I suffered more from sickness during the two weeks I remained in the mines than I had for many years previous. Howard, Musser and Fox were also unwell. Indeed, we did not know the condition to which our systems had been reduced by the fatigues of traveling, and scanty allowance of food, until we attempted to work. Fearing that we would not recover until we got out of the place, Musser and myself concluded to go "down country," see San Francisco, Stockton, get our "news," purchase a tent and supply of provisions, pack them into the mines, and winter there. Accordingly, we got up "Old Whitey," for whose board we had been paying 50 cents per day, with the privilege of browsing upon the mountains, packed several saddles, blankets, saddle-bags, empty packs, lariats, and provisions upon her back, and started on foot, leaving Green, Howard, Schaffle and Fox in the mines.

Nothing particular occurred and we reached Scott's ranch on the evening of the second day—we had traveled very slow on account of our weakness. Part of their "caballada" having gone astray, we were detained here two days hunting our mules. We mounted two of the best animals, which had improved considerably, and set out from the ranch in the afternoon; our course north, over a high, barren plain. We had no road, and when night set in the heavens clouded over and a slight sprinkle of rain fell. This was on the 11th of October, and the first rain of the season. We managed to keep our course in the darkness until we reached the Towalume river. We groped our way down the bluff and encamped on the flat, i. e. lay down in

the rain, beneath a large tree, where the big drops pelted us all night. The Towalume river resembles the Marcaides in many particulars: perhaps more timber growing on the flat. We descended the stream several miles, found a crossing, and continued down the north side. Passed an Indian "rancheria," where they had constructed a very ingenious fish trap, upon which they depend for subsistence, until the acorns ripen and grasshoppers grow fat. The wild Indians of California are the most miserable looking, indolent and degraded portion of that race of people I have seen since leaving the frontiers of the States. We stopped about noon at a tent, a few miles from the south of the river, to graze our animals. Here we saw Mr. Armstrong's mule, saddle, etc. Upon inquiry we learned that he had lain sick here for several days, sold his mule, etc., and proceeded on foot for Stockton this morning. We were apprehensive at first that something of a still more serious nature had happened him. Struck out in a N. W. course for the Stanislaus river,[101] over another high, dry, barren plain. Reached the lower ferry about dusk, where we forded the stream. Could get nothing to eat, and being out of provisions, we applied to a ferryman —a most forbidding looking Irishman, who immediately shared his scanty meal with us. We offered to pay him, but he refused to take anything, saying that we should do likewise at the first opportunity, etc. We took the advice and had another proof that appearances often deceive. We traveled down the river some miles after dark, in search of grass. About 9 o'clock we spied a light, and on coming up to it, found a number of Spaniards encamped, and turned in with them.

In the morning we again struck out across the plain, and about 3 o'clock p. m. reached the lower ferry on the San Joaquin river. This ferry is owned by three young men, Bonsall, Doak and Scott, and is a very valuable property. Mr. Bonsall, who left Clearfield Co., Pa., when a boy, and has since worked in the lead mines of Mo., told me the other day, that he had been offered $10,000 to drop his interest in the concern, and "take his bones out of the country." Here we intersected the main land route between San Francisco, San Jose and Stockton, or in other words, between the northern and southern portions of California, and divided by the bay of San Francisco. After taking dinner, we ferried over, at $1 each for man and mule. Stopped at M'Caffrey's Tent, or the "Elkhorn Inn of the San Joaquin,"

101. The Stanislaus river is about 20 mis. south of Stockton, near the modern Hetch Hetchy aqueduct.

as he was pleased to call it, (San Hwa-keen, J always having the sound of H in the "Lingua Español.") In the morning after breakfasting upon salt pork, sea biscuit, and coffee, for which we paid $1.50 each, we again packed our mules and pursued our way. The road was very fine, over a level plain, to the mountains on the west of the valley, and appeared lined with travel. The distance across this range of bald mountains is about 8 miles. The ascent and descent very gradual, except the dividing ridge, which is somewhat abrupt. Nooned at a spring on the mountains, and reached Livermore's ranch in the evening. Mr. Livermore was formerly an English sailor, and has resided in the country some 30 years. He has a Spanish wife, and his "cassa" and everything about him look California like. We lay down upon the ground floor to sleep, but couldn't. In the morning we learned that it was "only the fleas" that annoyed us. This country is actually pulluted with fleas, body lice, bed bugs, ticks and other vermin. It is a current joke, that previous to the war, the "coatis [coyotes] and fleas held possession of the country."

After leaving Livermore's ranch we crossed a plain two leagues in width, on which thousands of cattle were grazing, and then entered a range of hills, covered with wild oats. The place is known as "Amador's Pass" and was the handsomest spot we had seen in California. A small stream of clear, cold water flows E. in the direction of the road, along which are several flats and groves of large California oaks. Passed Senol's ranch, crossed a high range of hills and descended into the Mission of San Jose.[102] This, like all the California missions, is partly in ruins. We purchased some fruit of the old Frenchman in charge of the orchard and vineyard, and pursued our way towards Pueblo, which we reached about sundown.[103] Put up at the U. S. hotel and slept in a haystack, $2 for a bed being more than we could afford. This place is handsomely situated in the centre of the valley. The majority of the inhabitants are Spaniards, Chilians, Sonorians, etc., but Americans are fast settling here, and during this season a great many buildings have been put up. It has been decided upon as the seat of government. Here we were first reminded of the "land we hailed from," by neat frame houses, well furnished, tables

---

102. Heading west, they crossed the Diablo Range. The *mission* of San José (founded June 11, 1797) lay about midway between modern Oakland (to the north) and the *pueblo* of San José (to the south, near the southern end of the great bay).

103. There will be more regarding the Pueblo in the following chapter.

set *a la mode,* pleasure carriages, women dressed in silks, men in broadcloths, etc.

Three miles from Pueblo we passed through Santa Clara.[104] This mission is beautifully located, the land around is fertile, and as there are no Spanish claims upon it, a great many Americans are "squatting" here, expecting the lands to become government property. We had dinner at Mr. Wistman's, and here, for the first time since leaving home, sat down to a meal prepared by the hands of American females. Mr. Wistman came to the country in '46, settled here, and now owns a fine, well stocked ranch. Wealth and prosperity has grown up about him. Lodged at the "Old Missions," a large, lone adobe building, in which a New Yorker has taken quarters and opened a house of entertainment. Whether this ever was a mission, or only goes by that name, I have never learned. It is situated 20 miles from San Francisco. Passed Jose Sanchez's ranch, after which the country became more barren in appearance.

On ascending the hill bordering on the bay we had a fine view of the Golden Gate, through which the tide was ebbing, with a noise resembling thunder. We could see the Pacific ocean in the distance raising up mountain like, and bounding the horizon on the west. The "Mission Dolores" lay in our way, situated 3 miles from San Francisco.[105] The lands around this mission are also being fast taken up by American settlers. Shortly afterwards we entered the chapperel [*chaparal*] and sand hills. The sand is very deep, and a team can do little more than draw an empty wagon through it. On reaching the summit of the last sand hill the City of San Francisco, bay, harbor, and shipping burst upon our view. The appearance and magnitude of the place far exceed the most liberal ideas we had formed of it. We were almost lost in wonder as we urged our wearied mules through the crowd in one of the principal streets and gazed upon the large and even elegant buildings, the display of signs and merchandise, and the moving mass of human beings of every caste and tongue. We were almost deafened with the hum of business, the noise of the saw and hammer, rattling of cart wheels, and the jingle of money in the exchange offices and gambling houses. We kept along through several of the streets, gazing at everything that

---

104. Santa Clara de Asís mission was founded Jan. 12, 1777, and therefore antedated the Pueblo of San José (founded Nov. 29, 1777). See Caughey, *op. cit.*, 164-165.

105. By "Dolores" is meant the mission of San Francisco de Asís (founded Oct. 9, 1776). In the founding of San Francisco, Capt. J. B. de Anza picked Fort Point for the presidio and the "Arroyo de los Dolores" for the mission. Caughey, *op. cit.*, 156-157.

attracted our attention "with eyes and mouth open," not forgetting that we should look up a stopping place, and that we were "out" in the garb of mountaineers. We put up at a hotel; boarding $14 per week, mule feed the same price. Our first business was to go to the postoffice and "get our news." The answer, "Nothing for you, sir," took us all aback. Could it be possible that our friends, after making so many promises, had neglected or forgotten us? It was a cruel disappointment. We afterwards learned that no mails had been received from the States for several months.

In strolling around town we observed a striped pole. This was something to my mind, for I had neither shaved nor trimmed my beard since leaving the Mississippi. The fee was a dollar, and well earned, for razor after razor was laid aside — no doubt but some sands of the Gila remained in it.

---

## Chapter XXIII

On our way down we had concluded to stop at Pueblo and get into some business, and after remaining in San Francisco three or four days we returned to Pueblo San Jose. Here we were advised by several Americans to commence butchering. We soon found that we could not talk enough Spanish to purchase cattle, and gave up the idea. The Spanish know but little about the honors and laws of trade. If they were in need of money they will sell their property for a trifling sum to get it; but if a person wishes to purchase of them, and they do not want for money, no price will buy it.

We made up our minds to return to the diggings and make the most of it during the winter. Nothing particular occurred until we reached the mines, except after crossing the San Joaquin, rain commenced falling and continued at intervals for a number of days. Our clothes and blankets were kept constantly wet, in which we had to sleep; but by this time we were well and were very much recruited. We were also lost between the Towalume and Mercaides rivers, which is a very common occurrence on these plains. The trails through the mountains were so much softened by the rain that our mules frequently sank to their bellies. When we reached the diggings we found that Fremont's gulch was drowned out, and the miners were leaving for Agua Frio, the dry diggings several miles distant. Things presented a most squalid appearance. We were perfectly disgusted with the mines, and determined to pack up our traps and move down country, where we could encamp during the

rainy season. During our absence Green and Howard had left the mines and gone to Stockton, taking Franklin with them. Fred and Fox were left, and they had not been able to make their board. While on our way down we lived upon salmon, an excellent fish, which is so abundant in the Mercaides, Towalume and Stanislaus rivers that we killed them with clubs and stones, when ascending the shoals.

Fox found employment at Bonsal's ferry. John, Fred and myself came on down and encamped at the forks of the Stockton and Benecia roads, in Amador's Pass. Two of us went down to Pueblo and invested our remaining funds (about $200) in a tent and provisions, which we packed up upon our mules. We put up a pole frame, over which we stretched our canvas. The public, thinking that we were "in the business," began to call for meals, provisions, lodging, etc., and thinking it as well to be employed as idle, we killed a beef, put the kettle on the fire, and dealt out meat, hard bread, sugar, flour, etc. Ten days afterwards I started to San Francisco to purchase supplies with six hundred dollars in my pocket. There I found Green and Howard. They had clubbed together with Jesse Thomas and a Mr. Jacobs, of Huntingdon Co., Pa., and were keeping bachelor's hall, in a small room for which they paid $75 per month rent. Major Green had been very unwell, but was recovering from the typhoid fever. Dr. Winston was attending him. I also met Maj. Beck, Jas. Duncan, Jno. Hayes, Mr. Kelly and Mr. Smith, of the Lewistown company. They started from home after us, and had a pleasant trip through Mexico, and arrived at San Francisco early in July. They had all been to the diggings and were more or less successful. It was really gratifying to meet so many persons from the neighborhood of home.

There had been a great change in the place since I had been there before—a period of six weeks. A great number of buildings had been put up, and large blocks of houses covered what were then vacant lots. The town was "full of people," half of the buildings being occupied as boarding and gambling houses. Board was from $20 to $40 per week; rents exhorbitantly high; business of all kinds brisk, and merchandise commanded good prices. The gambling houses were thronged, and as these were the only place of resort, many persons entirely averse of gambling were induced to patronize the "banks." Money on loan was worth from 10 to 15 per cent. a month. Lots that were purchased two years ago for $16, sold for $40,000; timber commands $400 per M. feet, etc.

I made an arrangement for the goods we had shipped from Philadelphia, and redeemed them. The extreme, storage, etc., were trade of the northern mining region.[106] During the rainy season, Sacramento was overflowed, and great deal of property destroyed. The rise in the river, from the melting snow, has again deluged the place, in defiance of their efforts to keep out by embankments.

The founding of these towns has been so successful, and profitable to the projectors, that a great many "would like to be" speculators have laid out cities in various parts of the country, on mining streams and the principal rivers, advertise their many advantages, as to location, etc., make "sham sales," and use every effort to induce the "green 'uns" to take the bait. I could enumerate perhaps fifty that have been laid out within the last year, and lots for sale—the majority of which, will never pay the expenses of surveying.

Three-fourths of the people in the country say, "that if we can get what gold we want, we will play quits with California." They do not care about investing their money in uncertain real estate. The majority of persons that emigrated to the country in the year '46 and prior to that, have settled upon lands in various parts of the country, and having the advantage of the first opening of the mines, are now wealthy, almost without an effort. I have been amused at several of these "old settlers," as they are called, talking about going to the States to "see the country," and if they "like it" they "will move." Within the last [. . .] three or four greater than the first cost.[107] I shipped them on a launch to the Mission Embarkadero, 40 miles distant, and six hours sail, for $2.00 per cwt. The distance from the anchor ground to the beach, is a serious drawback upon the port of San Francisco. A great many goods shipped, did not pay for getting them ashore. One ship master, bought up a lot of mess beef, as the cheapest article he could get for ballast. Another who had brought out a lot of coal as ballast, retained it, although it was worth $50 per ton. The beach is the form of a crescent. The town is handsomely situated, but there is little room to extend it, unless they build upon the sand hills in the rear of the place. Water lots sold at an enormous price, on which large mercantile houses are built, upon piles. The buildings are generally of very flimsy structure. While I was there, a fire broke out, and laid a square in ruins. Before it had done burning, contracts were

---

106. This is unintelligible,—due evidently to some carelessness in the printing of Chamberlin's notes at Lewisburg in 1902.

107. Again some failure to reproduce the notes correctly is evident.

made for new buildings, and the lumber drawing upon the ground. In less than a fortnight, many of them were completed, and gambling and other business resumed as though nothing had happened. Three weeks ago, another more disastrous fire visited the place; almost half of the city was burned. It is already rebuilt, and the marks of the fire can scarcely be seen. This shows a spirit of energy and perseverance on the part of her citizens, scarcely if ever equalled.

When I was about to leave the place, Maj. Green had a severe attack of the diarrhœa (a prevailing and frequently fatal disease in this country) which, in his already weak condition, soon made him one of its victims. California may do to stay, or even to live in, but when death calls upon the wanderer, separated by thousands of miles from his family and friends, it is a hard country to die in. It was with feelings of indescribable sorrow, that I followed the body of my friend to the grave. His remains and those of James Banks, Esq., of Lewistown, Pa., rest side by side in the Russian burying ground.

---

## Chapter XXIV

Some weeks ago, business obliged me to go to Stockton. That place was situated on a level plain, and borders on a lagoon, which connects with the Bay of Francisco. The place was then almost sunk in mud, but during the dry seasons is very pleasant. The majority of the houses were canvass, but a large number of good buildings had already gone up. Vessels of a large size, can ascend the slue, and discharge freight with ease and little expense. Since the business season has opened, real estate has risen in value, and many buildings are being erected. It is the emporium of trade for the southern and part of the middle mines.

I have never as yet been as far north as Sacramento City. It is said to be the largest town in California, and concentrates [*sic*] the years, the great changes that have taken place in the country, the excitement of business, the abundance of money, etc., are so very different to everything experienced in the States, that persons would find it difficult to content themselves where time rolls on without any sensible changes, in the order of things, more especially if they had left indigent homes, and have enjoyed independence and affluence here.

The markets of this country, are very fluctuating. The supplies from the States and foreign countries are irregular,

and the price of an article depends entirely upon the quantity in market, or the ability of speculators to monopolize. Three months ago lumber was worth $400 per M. feet by the cargo, it can now be bought for $40. Flour was then worth $40 per bbl. now $8 to $10. At the same time sugar and coffee were selling at 10 to 12 cts. per lb.; now it is scarce at 40 cts. All the scythes and snaths in market could have been purchased for $10, at that time; a few days ago we were in San Francisco, and wished to buy one, (a scythe and snath,) the merchant asked $60 for it; we offered him $50; in the mean time, another person in search of the same article, stepped in and inquired the price of it; $70 was asked, the price paid, and he walked off with his bargain. The best flour in market, and that which commands the highest price, is brought from Chili, S. A. Fruit, vegetables, sugar, etc., from the Sandwich Islands; lumber, fish, butter and some vegetables from Oregon; silks, teas, fancy articles and drygoods of various kinds from China. Three-fourths of all the merchandise consumed here, is received from the United States, England and France. This includes lumber, breadstuffs, meats, liquors, and other groceries, heavy drygoods, clothing, hardware, etc., etc. The products of all countries in the world can be had, and representatives from the same be seen, in California.

It is amusing to notice the change in occupations and mode of living experienced by persons coming to this country. Men of all professions, trades and employments, become merchants, gamblers, farmers, watermen, teamsters, day laborers, etc., and as a first and last resort, the mines. A physician works in the diggings because he finds it more profitable than his profession: a lawyer runs a launch on the bay; a preacher keeps hotel, or a farmer "deals monte," all for the same reason. While in San Francisco last winter I saw a man of perhaps fifty years of age engaged in patching the leaking roof and mending the sidewalk of the boarding house at which I stopped. I saw he drank a great deal, but was talkative and intelligent. Upon getting into conversation with him I found that he was a lawyer of Pennsylvania, where he had been a successful practitioner for many years, and had been employed as counsel in several important cases, in connection with Hon. Ellis Lewis.[108]

---

108. The Hon. Ellis Lewis (1798-1871) was a Pennsylvania jurist, a staunch Democrat all his life. The governor appointed him (1833) state attorney general, but within a few months he succeeded to the office of presiding judge of the 8th judicial district and later (1843) held the same office in the 2nd judicial district. In 1848, he published *An abridgement of the criminal law of the United States.—Dict. of Am. Biog.*

The amount of water crafts upon San Francisco bay, and the rivers, is almost incredible. Thousands of boats and launches are in the trade, and ascend some of the rivers to the mines. About twenty-five steam boats are now plying between the various points of commerce, carrying passengers and freight. It is said that the boat "Senator" cleared as high as $30,000 per trip. She runs between San Francisco and Sacramento city, and goes through and back within two days.

Those portions of California adapted to agriculture are generally covered with Spanish claims, which if acknowledged valid by the American Government will for a while prove a hindrance to the settlement and prosperity of the country. But Spanish ignorance, indolence, and jealousy cannot hold out long against the ingenuity and enterprise of the Yankees, many of whom have already contrived to "get into the affections" of the "Dons." Taxes upon their 100 square miles, and American gamblers, (who won't play a "fair game") [109] into their purse and herds of cattle will soon have the desired effect. Then instead of these vermin-beset, adobe *casas*, see a country dotted over with neat, comfortable farm houses, gardens, fruit trees, and cultivated fields. But all these things will depend entirely upon two things—whether the soil will produce without irrigation, and the continuance and yield of the gold mines; for California must depend upon a home market for her products. The latter, time will tell; the former will be known soon, for there are a number of persons engaged in farming. The soil produces without [irrigating] water, but whether in quantity or quality sufficient to warrant cultivation is not known. Should California become one of the United States, the wealth of the mines continue, and the earth yield abundantly, nothing will be wanting to make her the most populous, wealthy, and flourishing State in the Union in a few years.

A national railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean would certainly be of great advantage to the country, and more closely connect the interests of her extended territory, if the great work could be accomplished. I see that it is a subject much agitated in the States and many persons there believe we will soon see locomotives and trains of cars "'hopping' the rivers and 'skipping' over the plains and 'jumping' the Sierra Nevada mountains." It will do to talk in that way, but from what little knowledge

109. There has been an evident omission of some words in printing. Insert "making inroads" or some such expression.

I have of the country I would be willing to wager all I expect to make in California that the undertaking will not be completed, if begun, within the nineteenth century. And if the opinions of men who have traveled every known overland route are of any weight, not one out of a hundred that I have heard will admit that it is at all practicable. The broad plains and deserts, the deep arroyos, the wide, sandy beds of rivers, the many mountains, the most formidable of which is the Sierra Nevada, whose summit towers above the regions of perpetual snow, the scarcity of material for constructing it, and the distance, are obstacles, which, in my opinion, render even the idea absurd.[110]

---

I have "spun my yarn" to the foot of the last page, and I now "knock off" with pleasure, lay the pen and writing desk (the bottom of an empty wine case) aside, and resume the hoe handle, which implement I can wield with better grace and effect.

(THE END)

110. Chamberlin's reference above to statehood for California shows that it was still the year 1849 when he concluded his diary. If he lived until 1869, of course he saw realized for California this "absurd idea" of a transcontinental railroad.

## NECROLOGY

NATHAN JAFFA.—Nathan Jaffa, city clerk of Las Vegas who had served as mayor of Roswell and Santa Fe and as New Mexico territorial secretary, died last night. He was 81.

Jaffa also had been a member of the board of regents of New Mexico Military Institute and of New Mexico University.

He was a 33d degree Mason, past grand master of the Masons of New Mexico, past grand high priest of the Royal Arch Masons of the state and past exalted ruler of the Elks lodge at Roswell.

Born in Germany, he came to Trinidad, Colo., in 1878. Three years later he went to Las Vegas as manager of the Jaffa Bros. Mercantile when he was 18. In 1884 he located in Albuquerque and until 1886 conducted a business there.

He went to Roswell in 1886. He served as Chaves county commissioner from 1895 to 1897 as the first Republican to win election in the county.

In 1907 he was appointed secretary of the Territory of New Mexico by President Teddy Roosevelt. He was reappointed by President Taft and held the secretaryship until statehood. . . .

Three children and a brother survive. Mrs. Eleanor Jaffa and Mrs. Julia Danziger, daughters, live at Las Vegas; and a son—Benjamin Jaffa, lives at Santa Fe. The brother is Harry Jaffa of Roswell.—*Albuquerque Tribune*, Sept. 13, 1945.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE ATOMIC BOMB.—The awe-inspiring appearance of the atomic bomb in these last months may seem to belong to the field of current events rather than to history proper. Yet we feel that we should not close this, our twentieth volume, without mention of both it and the VT fuse, in the resarch for which, and the successful perfecting of which, New Mexico played such an important role. We shall hope, perhaps this next year, to have some account of New Mexico's part in World War II, and there will be no more strange or fascinating part of that record than the story of these two inventions. The atomic bomb has been the more spectacular, of course. So many articles, many of them profusely illustrated, have been published during these last months that we offer no description of the atomic bomb. Less spectacular and less known as to its importance has been the VT fuse, and the reader may be glad to have the account which follows.—L. B. B.

THE VT FUSE.—Rated by the Navy as second in scientific importance only to the atomic bomb, the VT fuse, largely developed at the University of New Mexico under the directorship of Dr. E. J. Workman, played a leading role in inflicting heavy damage on enemy equipment and personnel during the war.

The VT fuse causes a shell or projectile to explode automatically when it comes within the near vicinity of an enemy target. Previous fuses caused shells to explode a fixed number of seconds after firing.

Though this old type of shell was satisfactory against fixed objects, a great many projectiles wasted their explosive energies on thin air or in the earth.

The VT fuse doesn't require a direct hit. It needs only to pass within close proximity of the target to cause an explosion. The fuse contains a 5-tube radio set so assembled that it remains in operation after the projectile is fired. This fuse emits electromagnetic waves which strike the target and are reflected back to the fuse.

When the time interval of emission and reflection shows that the projectile is within 70 feet of the target, the fuse causes the charge to be detonated.

In combatting the Nazi buzz bomb, the VT fuse played a major part. When the V-1's came over London, the anti-aircraft shells equipped with the fuse successively knocked down 24, 46, 67, and then 79 per cent of the buzz bombs in four consecutive weeks. Only four of the 104 V-1's reached their objective on the last day the bomb was used, the fused shells accounting for 80 per cent of those knocked down.

The fuse is sensitive to the ground and detonates a shell a number of feet above the heads of advancing ground troops, being a vast improvement over the old fuse which may explode high in the air or after it hits the ground.

The fuse was first standardized against the Nakajima 97 twin-motor Jap torpedo bomber. It was perfected against the suicide bomber in the Okinawa campaign. It enabled our fleet to sail into enemy waters with impunity.

A combination of radar and VT fuse is a deadly one. Radar determines the beam that enemy planes travel and the VT fused shells inflict a maximum of damage.

After the Battle of the Bulge, Gen. Patton said: "The new show that the funny fuse is putting on is devastating. The other night we caught a German battalion trying to cross the Sauer River with a battalion concentration and killed 702. I think when all armies get this fuse we will have to devise some new method of warfare. I am glad you all thought of it first. It is really a wonderful development."

The War Department said that one of every two VT fused rockets fired from fighter craft would bring down an enemy plane at 1000-yard range.

Dr. Workman, director of the Research Project, began experiments early in 1941 near Kirtland Field. Under direction of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, the Project contracted with OSRD, under direction of Johns Hopkins University's Applied Physics Laboratory.

From March to December, 1941, Dr. Workman was in

Washington carrying out further experiments. He returned Christmas, 1941, and has been director of this Project, which includes other secret developments, not yet released.

The project was under technical direction of Dr. Merle F. Tuce, director of Section T in Office of Scientific Research and Development in Washington, D. C. Comdr. T. S. Daniel represents the Chief of the Navy Ordnance Bureau. The staff here includes Dr. William Hume, professor in the University of New Mexico School of Engineering; Dr. C. E. Hablutzel of the California Institute of Technology; Dr. William D. Crozier of Rose Polytechnic Institute; Dr. Henry Dunlap of Rice Institute; Dr. Gene T. Pelsor of the University of Oklahoma; and Dr. George E. Hansche of Rose Polytech Institute.

The administrative staff is Allen W. Lloyd, Robert B. Yoder, and Milburn K. Tharp.

A recent addition to the technical staff is Dr. Lennart V. Larson of the National War Labor Board and Baylor University.

The New Mexico Experimental Range as testing ground is located in the foothills of the Manzano Mountains and includes 46,000 acres.

At present between 175 and 200 are employed on this project. Expenditures are running over $1,000,000 a year.

The first contract was in January, 1941, the second. November, 1941, and nine supplements were added lasting until the end of 1944. The first two contracts were between the University of New Mexico and the Office of Scientific Research and Development. The last one, 1945, was between the Navy and the University.

James V. Forrestal, secretary of the Navy has said: "The proximity fuse has helped blaze the trail to Japan. Without the protection this ingenious device gives to the surface ships of our fleet, our westward push could not have been so swift and the cost in men and ships would have been immeasurably greater."—Barbara Bailey in *New Mexico Lobo,* Sept. 28, 1945.

LOS ALAMOS RANCH SCHOOL.—As is well known, Los Alamos was one of the three places in our country taken over by our federal government and surrounded with the utmost secrecy in the tremendously dangerous research which culminated in the making of the atomic bomb. It gives us a decidedly queer sensation to recall that, twenty years ago, Los Alamos was a small but flourishing boys' school secluded in the pine-forested mountains about thirty miles from Santa Fe, and that one of our first associate editors of this quarterly was young Fayette S. Curtis, Jr., graduate of Yale and headmaster of that school.

He had made it his hobby to study weapons, ancient and modern, and two articles by him were published in our first two volumes. His untimely death occurred in December 1926, and after reading "To a Forest Burial" again, one may breathe the fervent hope that his ashes have not been disturbed by the transformation which came to Los Alamos through World War II.—L. B. B.

THE RAYNOLDS LIBRARY.—When the West was young, its scarcity of wood and water made settlement so hazardous that only adventurers, rowdies, insolvent gamblers and disappointed lovers dared attempt it.

Such was the impression of "this strip of country"—Santa Fé, Albuquerque and Taos—penned by pioneer authors of the period 100 years ago. Their writings are among a 1087-volume collection of books and periodicals recently given to the Library of the University of New Mexico.

Herbert F. Raynolds, former New Mexico district judge and member of the state supreme court, who now resides at Beverly Hills, Cal., made the gift to the library for cataloging and preservation, Librarian Arthur M. McAnally announced.

The rare collection dates back three generations to a grain broker in Canton, O., Madison Raynolds, who came to Las Cruces in 1882 and later moved to Albuquerque. Joshua was the present donor's father.

Among the collection are 310 volumes of such magazines

as Harper's, Scribner's, Century and Horace Greeley's New Yorker as well as 85 volumes of Stevenson, Stockton, Kipling and other writers of the turn of the century.—*Albuquerque Journal*, Oct. 5, 1945.

MORLEY ECCLESIASTICAL ART GIFT.—Three significant and highly valuable collections pertaining to Hispanic America were tendered the people of New Mexico through the board of regents of the Museum of New Mexico, by Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley and Mrs. Morley. The proffer was accepted by Governor John J. Dempsey in afternoon ceremonies at the Museum attended by several hundred guests who had been invited to the opening exhibition of one of the collections, that of Spanish Colonial ecclesiastical art in the Historical Society section of the Palace of the Governors. A second collection, Spanish Colonial silver, was on view in Santa Fé earlier in the summer at the Laboratory of Anthropology. The third collection, a specialized library of Hispanic archaeology and history numbers some twelve hundred volumes.

The ceremonies at the museum followed a morning meeting of the boards of the Museum and the School of American Research, a joint annual session, at which the Morley collections were officially offered and accepted. At the meeting, Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, director of the Museum since it was founded in 1909 was reëlected president of the managing committee of the school. Other officers reëlected were Paul A. F. Walter, vice president and treasurer, and Charles B. Barker, secretary. Dan T. Kelly is president of the Museum regents by virtue of his office as president of the New Mexico Archaeological Society.

Following a preview of the Morley collection of ecclesiastical art, the invited guests gathered in the patio of the Palace of the Governors. The archbishop of Santa Fé, the Most Reverend Edwin V. Byrne, delivered a scholarly discourse on "Christian Symbolism," in which he made many references to specific pieces in the Morley exhibition. He pointed out particularly that many items in the collection bear the crest of the order of Mercedarians, a Catholic

order of priests founded about 1200 A. D. Columbus brought the first members of the order to the New World on his second voyage in 1493, and in the following centuries they gradually spread over most of Latin America. The collection consists chiefly of pieces of the 17th and 18th centuries. Included are various altar pieces, vestments, crucifixes, plaques, statuary, chairs, benches and paintings.

Gilbert Espinosa, Albuquerque lawyer and a member of the Museum board of regents, read the communication from Dr. Morley offering the collection. In the communication Morley spoke feelingly of his and Mrs. Morley's love for New Mexico and its native people, of their interest in the artifacts and art of Spanish culture, and finally of "deep respect and sincere affection" for Dr. Hewett, "My first chief in my chosen profession, just as the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico were the first institutions to offer me employment therein."

Governor Dempsey in accepting the collections on behalf of the regents of the Museum and the people of New Mexico expressed great appreciation, predicted continued growth of similar collections at the Museum, following the national recognition these collections would bring. He spoke of the wise direction of the museum under Dr. Hewett that has made the institution widely known and its work esteemed.

Dr. Hewett closed the program with a short speech addressed directly to Dr. Morley. He announced that Morley had been elected a patron of the institution. He spoke of Morley's first arrival in New Mexico thirty-eight years ago to begin his archaeological work, complimented him on the renown he has since attained and assured him his collections, housed in the "venerable Palace of the Governors, fortress and castle for three centuries, now dedicated to the conservation of culture of the past" would be safely cherished and cared for.

The women's museum board served tea, beautifully appointed, in the patio, following the program.

At the morning session of the boards. Paul A. F.

Walter offered the resolution electing Morley a patron and accompanied it with the following statement:

"In presenting this resolution I cannot help recalling with nostalgia the delightful summer camp in the Rito de los Frijoles to which the youthful Morley came as a research fellow of Harvard. In camp he impressed a distinguished group of scientists and scholars, and a class of up-and-coming archaeologists, with his zeal and singleness of purpose, his firm convictions and skill in presenting his point of view. At the same time his courtesy even in difficult situations, was unfailing, and his persistent industry gave promise of his fruitful field work under Director Hewett at Quirigua in Guatemala, where he unraveled with painstaking effort the intricacies of Maya chronological glyphs, dating the monuments and laying the foundation for the modern research in Maya archaeology and history. For five years more, on the staff of the School of American Research, he continued to add to man's knowledge of the remarkable ancient culture of the Mayas, as manifest in the great ruins of Copán, Uxmal, Chichen Itza and other Maya palace and temple cities, some of them rediscovered by him in Petén, Quintana Roo and Yucatán. In the years that followed, as research associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in charge of its expeditions and as director of the Chichen Itza project, he added to his renown which had become international in scope, and shed luster upon the institutions he has served. Nor do I forget his meticulous report on the McElmo canyon ruins of southwestern Colorado, his illustrated monograph on Santa Fé architecture which contributed so materially toward making his beloved Santa Fé a City Different, and which after a quarter of a century is still in demand and shortly to appear in a second edition by the Historical Society of New Mexico. His learned publications on Maya archaeology are classics in that field. His war service, 1917 to 1919, in the office of Naval Intelligence, first as ensign, then in higher grade, was commended. To us common folk, here at home, Dr. Morley has endeared himself by his loyalty to our

institutions, his genial ways, his love of Santa Fé and his friendship for his associates of the years gone by."

MEXICO FIELD SCHOOL SESSION.—The University of New Mexico participated in a field school session at the National Autonomous University of Mexico during the summer of 1945. Three American universities participated in the field school; namely, the University of New Mexico, the University of Michigan, and the University of Texas. The University of New Mexico sent two professors, Dean G. P. Hammond and Dr. D. D. Brand; the University of Michigan also sent two, Dr. A. S. Aiton and Dr. L. C. Stuart. The University of Texas sent ten, headed by Dr. Charles W. Hackett, professor of Latin American history and chairman of the field school.

Professor H. E. Bolton, of the University of California, conducted a special seminar for Mexican students in Mexico City during the months of July and August. Professor Bolton's 75th birthday anniversary was celebrated during his stay in Mexico by a number of his former students and by a distinguished group of Mexican friends. Professor Bolton, was as youthful, vigorous, and enthusiastic as always.—G. P. H.

## ERRATA

Page 62, line 11, *for* Salmarón *read* Salmerón

Page 109, line 12, *after* Church *insert* who lived

Page 131, transpose lines 1-2 to follow line 24

Page 140, 28, *for* visit *read* visited

Page 271, line 3, *for* Edwin *read* Edward

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

# INDEX


Abó, mission started, 66, 68; friars at, 69 (note); 74

Acevedo, Fray Francisco de, 68, 70, 71, 81 (note)

Acoma, mission started, 73; friars at, 81, note; pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121

Aguado, Fray Antonio de, at Abó (1659), 69, note

Aguirre, Fray Bernardo de 58, 60, 61, 62, 63

Alameda pueblo, had convent (1635), 64 (note)

Alamillo, mission work, 81; friars at, 81, note

Albuquerque, and U. S. Indian School (1880), 111-113

Alburquerque, Old, in 1849, 146

Aliri, Fray Sebastián de, at Tajique (1672), 74, note

Allen, Edgar A., supt. (1897-1900) Albuquerque Indian School, 128-130

Allen James K., supt. (1903-6) Albuquerque Indian School, 132-137

Alvarado, Fray Tomás de, at Jémez (1669). 77, note; at Senecú (1667), 81, note

*Americas, The,* new Franciscan quarterly, 105

Anton Chico, mention (1849), 50, note

Apaches, and horses, 1-13 *passim;* Mescalero pupils at Albuquerque, (1887), 120, 121, use of saddles, 138-143 *passim;* met by '49ers, 154-5, 157-9, 169-170

*aparejo,* 145

Aranda, Fray Antonio de, at Galisteo (1640), 64, note

Archeveque, Juan de, mention, 188

Armijo, Manuel, "palace" in Old Alburquerque (1849), 147 and note

Armstrong, ———, joined Lewisburg party (1849) to California, 25; 34, 180, 348

Arteaga, Fray Antonio de, 70, 71, 80

Arvide, Fray Martín de, 62, 63, 67, 69, 71, 75, 77-81

Ascensión, Fray Juan de la, at Hawikuh (1660-62), 82

Atkeson, Joseph B., necrology, 95-96

Atomic Bomb, 359

Aubry, F. X., at Santa Fé (1849), 55; with wagon train to California, 151

Avery, F. F., mention (1894), 125

Avlia y Ayala, Fray Pedro de, killed at Hawikuh (1672), 82

Bailey, Barbara, quoted, 359-361

Bailey, Miss [Florence], charged with having appropriated work of another, 99

Baird, Spruce M., at Albuquerque (1849), 146-147

Bal, Fray Juan del, at Halona (1680), 82

Bandelier, A. F., quoted, 188

Baptista, Fray Andrés de, 58, 61, 63, 69, 71

Basket Maker culture, developed into Pueblo, 102

Benavides, Fray Alonso de, mention, 62-80 *passim*

Bernal, Fray Juan, at Galisteo (1672), 64, note; at Pecos (1670), 66, note

Bibliography. *See* Saunders; Steck; Zavala

Blair, Clyde M., services (1910-15) as principal at Albuquerque Indian School, 211, 212, 217; reappointed (1933), 326

Bloom, L. B. and F. V. Scholes, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology," (concl.) 58-82; paper in *The Americas,* 105; (ed.) "Lewisburg to California, 1849," 14-57, 144-186, 239-268, 336-357; editorial notes, 106-8, 187-8

Bond, Frank, necrology, 271-273

Bonney, William (Billy the Kid), cowboy opinions (c. 1886) regarding, 196

Bratton, Senator Sam, defends (1929) Albuquerque Indian School, 316

Brock, Dr. C. Leroy, mention (1915), 217

Bryan, R. W. D., supt. (1882-6) Albuquerque Indian School, 114-119

buffalo, range (1849), 41, 44

Buford, Captain, and U. S. mail (1849), 52-53 (notes)

Burg, John Baron, necrology, 94-95

Burgos, Fray Agustín de, 58, 61, 62, 63

Burke, Charles H., commissioner of Indian affairs, mention, 310; tribute to (1927), 314

Burke, P. F., supt. (1886-89) Albuquerque Indian School, 120-2, 127

burros, in Southwest (18th century), 7

Byrne, Archbishop Edwin V., mention, 363

Campo, Fray Juan del, at Abó (1634), 68; at Jémez (1640), 77, note

Canada, contiguous (17th century) with New Mexico, 278

Canfield, Fred W., cited (1934). 211, note; mention, 325

Carrascal, Fray Pedro de, 59, 61, 62

Carrasco, Fray Tomás de, came (1625), 69, 71, 75

Caughey, John, quoted, 254 (note), 257 (note)

Chamberlin, J. V., of Estancia, mention, 14

Chamberlin, William H., a California '49er, diary edited, 14-57, 144-183, 239-268, 336-357
Chapelle, Bishop P. L., mention (1892), 123
Chapman, Kenneth, art students at Albuquerque Indian School (1930), 319
Chavarría, Fray Miguel de, 62, 63, 66, 67
Cherokees, made saddles, 140
Chihuahua merchants (1849), 53, note; 144
Chililí, convent, 73
Chouteau's Trading House, 15, 39-40
Clark, John D., necrology on Gibson, 89-90
Cleland, Robert G., his idea of "Southwest" criticized, 106-107
Cochití, convent, 66; pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121
Coddington, A. M., mention (1882), 114
Collier, Commissioner John, mention, 314, 326
Collins, Ralph P., supt. (1900-3) Albuquerque Indian School, 130-132
Comanches, and horses, 1-13 *passim;* 35, 40, 41
Concepción, Fray Cristobal de la, 70, 71, 82
Concepción, Fray Francisco de la, 70, 71, 74
Concepción. *See* Figueroa
Connolly, Vera L., her "ill-considered and fallacious criticisms" (in *Good Housekeeping*, 1929), 316-317
Contreras, Fray Sebastián de, at San Juan (1666), 73 note
Cooke's Peak (near Deming), 155, note
Creager, William B., supt. (1889-94) Albuquerque Indian School, 122-5, 127
Cuarac, mission at, 64, 73; friars at, 73 note
Cuellar, Fray Agustín de, 70, 71, 81-82
Curtis, Jr., Fayette S., 362
Custer, Burton B., supt. (1906-8) Albuquerque Indian School, 137-8, 207

Dagenett, Charles, agent in charge of outing system (1905), 137
Davis W. W. H., quoted on name of Santa Fé, 187
Dawes Act of 1887, importance of, 110
Dent, Capt. Frederick T., biographical data, 15, 27, 33, 38
Devil's Turnpike (Ariz., 1849), 162, 163
Dixon, James H., of Louisiana (1849), 40, 148, 154, 164
Doña Ana (N. Mex.), in 1884, 287; 304
Drake, Francis, mention, 278
Durán, Fray Andrés, at Taos (1668), 75, note
Dutt, George F., at Albuquerque Indian School (1916-20), 218, 219
Du Val, Pierre, map (1670) by, 189; and Sanson family, 276-278

Edward's trading-house (1849), 35, 36
Ellison, William H., quoted, 256 (note), 257 (note)
El Morro, article on, criticized, 107-108
*Emory's Notes*, used by '49ers, 149, 153, 155, 161, 162, 164, 165, 168, 170, 175
Enríquez, Fray Nicolás, at Pecos (1666), 66, note
Escobar, Fray Pedro de, 59, 61, 62
Espeleta, Fray José de, at Awatobi (1672), 82
Espinosa, José Manuel, cited, 99; 105
Espíritu Santo, Fray Domingo del, at Pecos (1635), 66, note
Espíritu Santo, Fray Martín del, came (1625), 69, 71
Estancia Springs (N. Mex|), tragedy at, 189-206
Estremera, Fray Alonso de, came (1625), 69, 71

fair at Taos, annual, 6
Figueredo, Fray Roque de, 70, 71, 81-82
Figueroa (*or* de la Concepción), Fray José de, at Awátobi (1680), 82, note
fleas, in Santa Fé (1849), 54, 144
Florida, contiguous with N. Mex. (17th century), 278
Fonte (*or* Fonsi), Fray Francisco, 62, 63, 68, 68, 71
Foreman, Grant, quoted on routes of California '49ers, 14
Forrest, Earle R., article on El Morro discussed, 107-108
Fort Smith (Ark.), mention (1849), 14, 15; 23-24
Franciscans in New Mexico, 1598-1629, 58-82
Franklin, John, Dutchman (1849), 147 180, 239
Freitas, Fray Nicolás de, at Cuarac (1660), 73, note; at Acoma (1666), 81, note
Frémont, John C., in California, 248, note; 336, 344, 346
French, in Indian trade (18th century), 2-13
French, B. F., historical collections quoted, 139
Frenger, Numa C., necrology, 270-271
"Friar personnel and mission chronology, 1598-1629," by Scholes and Bloom, 58-82
Fuente, Fray Diego de la, 70, 71

Galdo, Fray Juan, at Halona (1671-2), 82
Galisteo, mission center, 64 (note), 65

gambling, Navaho, stopped (1903), 207
*Geography of New Mexico* (1918), by A. N. White, mention, 270
Gibson, Charles LeRoy, necrology, 89-90
Gil de Avila, Fray Ildefonso, at Abó (1672). 69, note; at Senecú (1675), 81, note
Gilliam, S. H., principal (1933) at Albuquerque Indian School, 327, note; 329
Gómez de la Cadena, Fray Francisco, at Chililí (1671-72), 64, note; at Tajique (1671-72), 74, note
Gonzales, Fray Juan, at Pecos (1661), 66, note
Gonzales, Fray Martín (*or* Bartolomé), 70 and note
Goodyear's patent, rubber plate for false teeth, fought successfully by Newbrough, 283
Graham, Maj. Lawrence P., 173, 249
gold, in California (1849), 248
Gran Quivira (Tabirá), 74-75
Green, Maj. R. B., of Lewisburg party to California (1849), 16, 36, 40, 148, 245, 259, 352; death, 354
Gregg, Josiah, quoted on name of Santa Fé, 187
Guerra, Fray Salvador de, at Taos (1659-60), 75, note; at Jémez (1661) 77, note; at Acoma (1661), 81, note
Guevara, Fray Miguel de, at San Juan (1665), 73, note
Gurulé, name derived from "Grollet," 187-8
Gutiérrez, Fray Andrés, 70- 71, 82
Gutiérrez de la Chica, Fray Juan, came (1625), 69,; 71, 73

Halona, mission, 81-82
Hammond, G. P., 100; in Mexico, 366
Haro de la Cueva, Fray Pedro, 58, 61, 63, 69, 71
Harrington, Miss Isis L., services (1917-33) at Albuquerque Indian School, 219-220, 310, 312-3, 317, 322, 324, 325-6; 332-5
Harrington, John P., study of "Indian words in Southwestern Spanish," mention, 103
Hasinai Indians, 1, 139
Hawikúh, mission, 81-82; book on, rev-d, 101-102
Henriques, Dr. Edward, in shooting at Estancia (1883), 189-206 *passim*
Hidalgo, Fray Nicolás de, at Taos (1638), 75
Holsenbeck, Miss Hazel, cited (1934), 313, note
Hopi, missions and convents (1629-41), 82
horses in Southwest, spread of Spanish, 1-13; wild, 267, 274-6, 337
Hortega. *See* Ortega
hotel, "United States," at Santa Fé, (1849), 53-54
Howland, Andrew M., life and work of, 281, 287-309 *passim*
Howlind, Jone, "Shalam: Facts vs. Fiction," 281-309
Humanas, San Buenaventura de las, mission (1659), 74
Huning, Franz, mention (1880), 112
Huntington Library, mention, 106
Hurtado, Fray Nicolás, at Senecú (1670), 81, note

"Indian School, History of the Albuquerque" (to 1934), by Lillie G. McKinney, 109-138, 207-226, 310-335
Isleta, mission center, 64; pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121, 123, in 1900, 131

Jackson, Sheldon, mention (1880), 109-114 *passim*
Jaillot, Hubert, map maker, 277
Jaffa, Nathan, necrology, 358
Jémez, mission started, 66, 67; 75-77; opposed to education (1887), 121
Jesús, Fray Juan de, at Jémez (1680), 77, note
Jones, Dr. Edwin L., appointed (1905) to Albuquerque Indian School, 135
Jouvenceau, Rev. A., opposed Indian education (1891), 124
Juarez. *See* Suarez

Kearny, Gen'l S. W., mention (1849), 56, 147 (note), 153 (twice), 156, 163, 168
Keck, Mrs. D. S., at Albuquerque Indian School (1889-90), 123
Keleher, Julia, article on Shalam criticized, 281-309 *passim*
Kendall, Rev. Henry, mention (1881), 114
Kendrick, Robert E., at Albuquerque Indian School (1930), 321
Kluckhohn, Clyde, *Navaho Witchcraft*, rev'd, 103
Knickerbocker ocmpany of '49ers, 36, 161, 165, 168
Kubler, George, cited 74-75

Lagunas, pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121
Lane, John, mention (1894), 125
Lawrence, Mrs. Ellen, weaving instructor (1931) at Albuquerque Indian School, 320
Lemitar (N. Mex., 1849), 147, note; 150
Letrado, Fray Francisco de, 70, 71, 74, 82

Leupp, Ariz., Indian school at, flooded out (1932), 324
Lewis, Hon. Ellis, of Pa., mention, 355
"Lewisburg (Pa.) to California in 1849, From," diary of Wm. H. Chamberlin, 14-57, 144-180, 336-357
libraries among Pueblo Indians (1929-33), 312-313
Llana, Fray Jerónimo de la, at Cuarac (1650), 73, note; at Tajique (1636), 74, note
Lobato, Fray Juan, at Picurís (1661), 75, note
Lobdell, Fred M., mention, 219, 310
López, Fray Diego, 70, 71, 81
López de Covarrubias, Fray Bernardo, at San Marcos (1663-4), 65, note
Lorenzana, Fray Francisco Antonio de, at San Marcos (1672), 65, note
Los Alamos Ranch School, 362
Los Angeles, Pueblo de, in 1849, 252, 258-9
Lunsford, Miss Dora, from Leupp to Albuquerque Indian School (1932), 324

McCowan, S. M., supt. (1896-7) Albuquerque Indian School, 126-7, 128, 129 (note)
McFie, Jr., John R., necrology, 184-186
McIntosh, Archie, possible mention at Santa Fé (1849), 55 (note)
McKinney, Lillie G., "History of the Albuquerque Indian School" (to 1934), 109-138, 207-226, 310-335
McKoin, John J., supt. (1894-6) Albuquerque Indian School, 125-126
Madre de Dios, Fray Francisco de la, 70, 71, 81-82
mail service, Santa Fé to Independence (1849), 53
Maldonado, Fray Lucas, at Acoma (1671-80), 81, note
Manso, Fray Tomás, 70, 71
map of New Mexico (1670), 189, 276-8
Mar, Fray Tomás de la, 60, 61, 62
Marcy, Capt. Randolph B., biographical note, 14; report of route from Fort Smith to Santa Fé cited, 15; 26
Margry, Pierre, cited, 1-13 *passim*, 139, 141
Maricopa Indians (Ariz., 1849), 174, 244
Mariposa gold-diggings, Calif. (1849), 248, note; 259, 339
Marron, O. N., mention (1892), 123
Marta, Fray Bernardo de, 58, 61
Martínez, Fray Luís, at Taos (1661), 75, note
Masons, A. F. & A., of Las Cruces, mention (c. 1884), 284; 300
Medler, Edward, mention, 92; (1882), 114
Medler, Edward L., necrology, 92-94; mention, 114 (note), 271
Memphis (in March, 1849), 21-22
Mesilla Valley (N. Mex., 1880s), 284-287
Meusnier, Pedro, mention, 188
Mexican settlers, first met (1849) on Fort Smith-Santa Fé road, 45; traders on plains, 45, 46, 47
Milne, John, quoted (1934), 211, note; 213, note; 319, 321. note; tribute (1934) to Perry, 331
Miranda, Fray Justo de, 64 (note), 66
Miranda, Fray Pedro de, killed at Taos. 75
Mission chronology (1598-1629), 58-82
Monpean, Fray Jacinto de at Awátobi (c. 1662), 82
Montes, Fray Felipe, at San Juan (1672), 73, note
Mora, Fray Antonio de, at Taos (1672-80), 75, note
Morales, Fray Luís de, at Pecos (1672), 66, note
Morgan, Commissioner T. J., quoted (1892) on Indian education, 123
Morley, Dr. Sylvanus G., ecclesiastical art gift, 363-6
Moss, William N., mention (1894), 125
Mount Graham (Arizona, 1849), 164, 165
Mount Turnbull (Arizona, 1849), 165
mules in the Southwest, in 1719, 3; 18th century, 4-11; *passim;* in 1849, 24-25, 27, 39, 46, 51, 52
Muñoz, Fray Francisco, 70, 70-71, 75 (note), 77 (note), 81 (note)
murder, at San Miguel, N. Mex. (1849), case of American, 52

Nambé, mission center, 64
Natividad, Fray Benito de la, at Socorro (1659-61), 81, note
Navaho, book on witchcraft among, 103; pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121; (1901), 131, 133, 134, 136
Necrologies. *See* Atkeson, Bond, Burg, Frenger, Gibson, McFie, Medler, Rowells, Shaffer, Simms, White, Zimmerman
Newbrough, Dr. John B., life and work of, 281-309 *passim*
Newbrough, Mrs. John B., of Shalam, 286, 305, caricatured as "Mrs. Sweet," 291-2, 299, 305-9
Nolan, Philip, in western horse trade, 10, 12
Nogal Cañon, N. Mex. (1849), 153, note

*Oahspe*, produced (1881) "by automatic control," 282; 298, 299
Ordónez, Fray Isidro, 58, 61

Ortega, Dr. Joaquín, cited, 87, 98, 99
Ortega, Fray Pedro de, 60, 61, 63, 66, 67, 69, 72, 75
Otero, Manuel, killed (1883), at Estancia Springs, 201-203
Outing system, for Indian pupils (1900), 131, 132, 136, 137

Padoucas. *See* Comanches
Pápagos, pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121
Paredes, Fray Joseph de, at Abó (1662), 69, note; at Senecú (1672), 81, note
Parraga, Fray Diego de, at Cuarac (1672), 73, note; at Tajique (1660), 74, note
Peairs, H. B., mention, 217, 224, 310
Pecos, mission ruins and valley (1849), 52-53; (1619), 66, 67
Pedraza, Fray Jerónimo de, 58, 60, 61, 63, 69, 72
Peinado, Fray Alonso de, 68, 61, 63, 64, 68
Peñalosa, Diego de, mention, 278
Peralta, N. Mex. (1849), 148
Perea, Fray Estevan de, 58, 61, 63, 72, 73
Pérez, Fray Antonio, at Santa Clara (1638), 73, note
Perez Guerta, Fray Francisco, 58, 61
Perguer, Fray Andrés, 58, 61
Perry, Reuben, quoted, 111-132 *passim;* supt. (1908-33) Albuquerque Indian School, 207, 208-226, 310-326, 331
Pico, Gov. Pio, of California, mention, 346
Picurís, mission started, 66, 67; 72, 75
Pimas, pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121; In Arizona (1849), 171, 172-4
Piñon Lano Indians (Arizona, 1849), 170
placer mines, south of Santa Fé (1849), 55, 144, 145; in California (1849), 248, 259, 342-3
Plasencia, Fray Juan de, at San Felipe (1662), 65, note
Pond, Peter, English fur trader, quoted (1773), 10
Pope, Charles, "The Estancia Springs Tragedy," 189-206
Porras, Fray Francisco de, 70, 72, 82
Posada, Fray Alonso de, at Jémez (1656), 77, note; at Awátobi (1653-5), 82, note
pottery making, revived among Pueblo Indians (1926), 314; 319
*Pow-Wow,* annual (1927-32) published at Albuquerque Indian School, 314; war veterans listed, 331-2
Presbyterian Church (in the U. S. A.), mission work of, 109-110, 115, 120
Psychical Research Societies, British and American, mention, 282
Puaráy, had no convent, 64 (note)
Pueblo Indians, regional significance, 107

Quirós, Fray Cristóbal de, 58, 61, 63, 69, 72
Quivira women as slaves (17th century), mention, 2

Ramírez, Fray Juan, 70, 72; at Tajique (1660), 74, note; 81
Raynolds Library, 362-3
Reed, Erik K., paper in *Plateau*, 103-104
Reeve, Frank D., rev. of book by Kluckhohn, 103
Reid, Hugo, in California (1849), 256, note
Rendón, Fray Matias de, at Picurís (1680), 75, note
Rio Grande (in 1849), 146-158 *passim*
Rodríguez, Fray Felipe, at Taos (1660), 75, note
Romero, Fray Bartolomé, 70 72, 82
Romero, Dolores, Indian agent at Isleta (1884) quoted, 118-119
Ross, J. Chalmers, at Albuquerque Indian School (1920), 219
Rowells, R. E. necrology, 96
Rowland, John, in California (1849), 257, 258

Sabinal, N. Mex. (1849), 148
Sacristán, Fray Miguel, at Jémez (1661), 77, note
saddles, Indian use of, 139-143
Salas, Fray Juan de, 58, 61, 63, 69, 72, 73 (note)
Salazar, Fray Francisco de, at Chililí, 64, note; at Cuarac (1668), 73, note
Salpointe, Archbishop, mention (1891), 124
San Antonio (north of Tijeras cañon), in 1849, 146; (below Socorro), in 1849, 151
San Antonio, Fray Salvador de, at Alamillo (1672), 81, note
San Buenaventura, Fray Francisco de, 70, 72, 82
San Buenaventura, Fray Juan de, 58, 61, 63
Sánchez, Maj. Pedro, Indian agent, mention, 114; quoted (1884), 118
San Cristóbal mission, 65
Sandía, mission center (1617), 64; pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121
San Diego, Fray Tomás de, 70, 72
San Diego de la Congregación, Jémez mission, 67, 72, 75-6, 77
San Felipe, convent (1621), 65; friars, 65, note; 66; pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121
San Fernando (Calif.), mission (in 1849), 259-260
San Francisco (Calif.), city (in 1849), 350, 352; 353-4, 355

San Francisco, Fray García de, 70, note; 72; 80, 81
San Francisco de Asís (Calif.), mission of, 350
San Ildefonso, mission center, 64, 73
San Joaquín valley (Calif., 1849), 248 (note), 259-268 *passim;* 337, 338
San José (Calif., 1849), mission of, 349; pueblo of, 349, 351
San José de Guiúsewa, first Jémez mission (1621), 67; 77
San Juan, Fray Alonso de, 58-9, 60, 61, 62, 63, 70, 72
San Juan, convent at, 73; friars at, 73, note
San Lázaro, convent, 64-65
San Lucas, Fray Diego de, 70, 72, 77 (note)
San Marcos mission, 64 and note; friars at, 65, note
San Miguel del Vado (N. Mex., 1849), 50-52
San Pedro (N. Mex., 1849), 145, 146
Sanson family of Paris, map makers, 277
Santa Ana, had no convent, 65; pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121
Santa Clara, convent, 64, 73; pupils at Albuquerque (1898), 129, note
Santa Clara de Asís (Calif.), mission of, 350
Santa Fé, impressions in 1849, 54-55; correct form of name discussed, 108, 187
Santa Fé Trail, near San Miguel (1849), 50
Santana, Fray Pedro de, 70, 72
Santander, Fray Diego de, at San Marcos (1662), 65, note; 74; at Senecú (1665), 81, note; at Acoma (1666), 81, note
Santo Domingo, convent, 65, 66, 67; opposed (1887) to education, 121
Sauer, Carl O., his reasoning as to Fray Marcos, 100
Saunders, Lyle, *A guide to materials bearing on cultural relations in New Mexico*, rev'd, 79-101
Sauz de Lezaún, Fray Juan, quoted (1760), 7
Scholes, France V., mention, 100, 105; with L. B. Bloom, "Friar personnel and mission chronology, 1598-1629," 58-82
Seltzer, Carl C., *Racial prehistory in the Southwest and the Hawikúh Zuñis*, rev'd, 101-102
Senecú, early work at, 78, 80
Serrano, Fray Pedro, (Padre Provincial), quoted (1761) on Indian trade, 6
Sevilletta, early work at, 81
Sewell, Brice, mention, 319, note
Shaffer, Edward H., necrology, 90-92
"Shalam: Facts vs. Fiction," by Jone Howlind, 281-309
Shalam colony, New York waifs gave idea for, 284
Shawnee town (1849), 34 (note), 35-36
Shearer, J. S., first supt. (1881-82) Albuquerque Indian School, 114
sheep range, in southern plains (1849), 48-49, 50
Shelby, M. B., mention (1896), 126
Sía, convent, 65, 66
Sierra, Fray Antonio de, at Picurís (1671-2), 75, note
Simms, Albert G., mention, 181
Simms, Mrs. Ruth Hanna, necrology, 181-184
Socorro, convent at, 78; in 1849, 150
Sonora, gold seekers (1848-49) from, 246, 248, 251
Sonora Trail (1849), 165
Southwest, regional characteristics of, 106-107
Spanish Trail (Santa Fé to Calif.), 15, 55, 56 (note), 144, 257 (note)
Spier, Leslie, rev. of book by Seltzer, 101-3; edits new journal, 105
Steck, F. B., *A tentative guide to historical materials on the Southwest*, rev'd, 97
"Steeple Rock," (Ariz., 1849), 161
Suarez, Fray Andrés, 58, 61, 63, 66, 69, 72
Suarez, Fray Juan, at San Felipe (1643), 65, note; 81
Suarez, Fray Luís, 70 and note

tailors, among California '49ers, 32
Tajique, mission at, 64; convent, 74
Taos, mission started, 66, 67; 72, 75
telegraph wires across Ohio river (1849), 18
Tenabó, mention (1622), 68
Texas, part of Southwest, 107
Texas tribes, and horses (18th century), 1-13 *passim*
Thomas, Maj. B. M., Indian agent, mention (1878), 110-2; (1882), 114
Thompson, David, quoted (1887), 11
Tijeras Cañon (1849), 144, 146
Tinoco, Fray Manuel, at San Marcos (1680), 65, note
Tirado, Fray Luís, 58, 61
Tomé, N. Mex., location, 150
Tompiro area, missions of, 68
Torija, Fray Gabriel de, at Abó (1668), 69, note
Torre, Fray Tomás de la, at San Marcos (1668-9), 65, note; at Jémez (1672), 77, note
Touacara (Wichita) Indians, 1, 139

trade, with Indians in horses, peltry and slaves, 2-13 *passim*
Trail, old Deleware Indian, west from Fort Smith (1849), 27, 29-30, 31; from Santa Fé to Calif., 56 (notes); Sonora (1849), 165; Cooke's wagon-route (1849), 171, 176
Trujillo, Fray José de, killed at Shongopovi (1680), 82, note
Twitchell, Ralph E. cited, 108, 187, 188

University of New Mexico, development under President Zimmerman (1927-44), 84-87
Updegraff, Lieut. Joseph, biog, data, 15; 26 (note); 27, 33, 38

Velasco, Fray Cristóbal de, at Galisteo (1659), 64, note
Velasco, Fray Fernando de, at Chililí (c. 1660), 64, note; at Socorro (1672), 81, note; at Acoma (1667), 81, note
Velasco, Fray Francisco de, at Pecos (1680), 66, note
Vera, Fray Domingo de at Galisteo (1680), 64, note
Vergara, Fray Pedro de, 58, 61, 62, 63, 69, 72
Vidania, Fray Juan de, at Picurís (1637), 75, note
Villar, Fray Nicolás del, at Galisteo (1661), 64, note; as Abó (1669), 69, note
Villegas, Fray Pedro de, at Galisteo (1665), 64, note; at San Marcos (1665), 65, note
VT Fuse, 359-361

Walter, P. A. F., necrologies, 83-89, 92-96, 181-186, 267-273; book revs., 274-276
Walter, Jr., P. A. F., necrology of Shaffer, 90-92; mention, 98
Warner's Ranch, Calif. (1849), 251-252
weapons of American Indians, 227-238
weaving, revived among Indians, 313, 319, 320
West. D. C., mention, 219
West, Elias P., at Albuquerque (1849), 146-147
White, Alvan N., necrology, 269-270
Whitney, [James G.], his part in the Estancia Springs tragedy (1883), 200-203
Williams, Izaac, in Calif. (1849), 254, 255
Worcester, D. E., "Spread of Spanish horses in Southwest, 1700-1800," 1-13; "The use of saddles by American Indians," 139-143; "Weapons of American Indians," 227-238; mention, 279
Workman, Dr. E. J., 359-361
World War, Indians in First, 222; veterans listed, 331-332
Wyman, W. D., *The Wild Horse of the West*, rev'd, 274-276

Xumanas, Tompiro town, 74

Yáñez, Fray Alonso de, 70, 72
Yazza, Paul David, of Albuquerque Indian School, war casualty, 221, 222, 322
Ybargaray. *See* Ibargaray
Yumas, in 1849, 241-243

Zambrano Ortiz, Fray Pedro, 58, 61, 62, 63, 66, 69, 72
Zárate, Fray Ascencio de, 62, 63, 69, 72, 75
Zárate Salmerón, Fray Jerónimo, 62, 63, 67, 68
Zavala, Silvio, and the *Revista de historia de America*, 104
Zea, Fray Andrés de, came (1625), 69, 72, 75
Zía, pupils at Albuquerque (1887), 121
Zimmerman, James F., necrology, 83-89
Zipias, mention (1638), 80
Zúñiga, Fray García de, 70-71

## PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

OLD SANTA FÉ (the quarterly published in 1913-16), 3 volumes unbound. A complete set may still be had at $20.00. The seventh issue is not sold separately; the tenth issue, $5.00; the others, $1.00 each. The Society will pay $5.00 for reasonably clean copies of Vol. II, no. 3.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW (quarterly, from January 1926)
Vol. I, no. 1, out of print. Nos. 2, 3, 4, each $2.00.
Vol. II, no. 1 (sold only in sets) $3.00; Nos. 2, 3, 4, each $1.00.
Vols. III to current year, per volume $4.00
By subscription, during current year $3.00
COMPREHENSIVE INDEX, Vols. I-XV $2.00

Papers. Nos. 1 to 38 (1888 to 1935) List of titles sent on request.

ST. FRANCIS AND THE FRANCISCANS IN NEW MEXICO, 44 pp. ill., $0.50

REPRINTS from the HISTORICAL REVIEW, each $0.25. Titles sent on request. Some studies which appeared serially may be had as:

PUBLICATIONS IN HISTORY

Vol. I—Fray Marcos de Niza's *Relación*, Span. and Eng. ed. by Percy M. Baldwin, 59 pp. (1926) $0.60

Vol. II—Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico. Geo. P. Hammond. 228 pp., maps, bibliog., index. (1927) $1.50

Vol. III—New Mexico in the Great War, ed. by L. B. Bloom. 166 pp., index. (1927) $1.50

Vol. IV—The Gallegos Relation of the Rodríguez Expedition to to New Mexico, ed. by G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. 69 pp., maps, index. (1927) $1.00

Vol. V—Barreiro's *Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico* (1832), ed. by L. B. Bloom, 60 pp., ill. (1928) $0.75

Vol. VI—Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies. Ruth Kerns Barber. 135 pp., bibliog., index. (1932) $1.50

Vol. VII—Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650, France V. Scholes. 206 pp., bibliog., index. (1937) $2.00

Vol. VIII—The American Occupation of New Mexico, 1821-52 Sister Mary Loyola. 166 pp., bibliog., index. (1939) $1.50.

Vol. IX—Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886. R. H. Ogle, 259 pp., bibliog., index. (1940) $2.50

Vol. X—Franciscan Missions of New Mexico, 1740-1760. Henry W. Kelly. 94 pp., bibliog., maps. (1941) $1.50

Vol. XI—Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670. F. V. Scholes. 276 pp., bibliog., index. (1942) $2.50

Vol. XII—New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861. L. M. Ganaway. 140 pp., illus., bibliog., index. (1944) $2.00; in cloth $2.50

Address orders to

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW,
Box 1704, Santa Fe, New Mexico